20¢ SEPTEMBER 26, 1949

New Republic

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By MARK GAYN

- **THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE**

  By JAMES R. NEWMAN

- **NEW POLICY FOR ASIA**

  EDITORIAL

- **WHAT DEVALUATION MEANS**

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE RESILIENCY of newspaper editorial pages always makes us proud of our profession. Here the President's Fact-Finding Board the other day handed down an opinion that the big steel union shouldn't have any direct wage increase. The unexpected finding was hailed with whoops of editorial joy and the Fact-Finding Board, which had previously been regarded with journalistic suspicion, was hailed as a welcome convert to Free Enterprise.

And then what happened? Union leader Phil Murray, with embarrassing good nature, accepted the report, saying, "All right, let's have peace; the proposals for employer-financed pensions and insurance suit us for the time being." This was disconcerting for editorialists, but more so was the rejection of the program by the big steel companies. Obviously journalism had to move fast. We can only say that it has risen superbly to the occasion. Many newspapers now discovered that old Phil Murray was wrong all the time, that the fact-finding device was a clever Truman political maneuver and that upstanding US Steel President Fairless is defending the American Way against Statism by rejecting management-paid pensions.

The Scripps-Howard papers, apparently finding an editorial change of direction too difficult to make at full speed, were an exception to the nimble herd. The steel companies, they point out, have already decided the issue. Didn't the steel companies as coal owners long ago agree to give Old Eyebrows and his United Mine Workers a "union welfare and pension fund to which the union's members are not required to contribute"?

It looks now as if we would be lucky to escape a real steel-coal crisis over this big issue. American corporations have been paying mouth-watering pensions to executives for years and the whole direction of labor demands seems to be turning into the same field for workers, too. Steel President Ben Fairless himself, it develops, will have a $70,000-a-year income when he retires, to which he will have contributed only a fraction.

To sum it up, we see no way of taking the growing pension pressure off individual corporations, other than to pass New Deal social-security laws which would blanket almost everybody. The present drive may persuade some executives to stop resisting the Truman program for old-age pensions and insurance programs and do the thing nationally instead of piecemeal.

The crass avariciousness of miners and steel workers, rightfully deplored by all red-blooded executives, finds stimulus perhaps in one or two recent news items. There is that matter of Ben Fairless' own retirement pay. There is the record of extraordinary steel-company profits. There was the announced intention of US Steel Vice-President Ilgenfritz to keep on drawing his $70,000 salary while on leave to fill the proposed appointment as head of the Munitions Board (paying a paltry $14,000); this led to his Senate rejection, 40 to 28. Maybe another item is involved: The discovery that the Senate, which turned down Ilgenfritz to prevent dual loyalty, is the proud possessor of Republican Styles Bridges, who has been eking out his federal stipend with $35,000-a-year paid as trustee of the Mine Workers' Welfare Fund.

On the international side, it looks as though Truman would get most of his Atlantic Pact military-aid program. He got the Tariff Act extended last week, though the extension squeaked through the Senate after the closest kind of battle over hampering amend-

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ments. The fight was one more illustration of how tentative is the GOP's conversion to lower duties. We freely predict that this is going to cause trouble some day. For the moment, however, Truman is free to proclaim cuts on 400 items negotiated at the Annecy conference in France.

Ernie Bevin, British Foreign Minister, lectured some Americans here informally on the responsibilities of the USA as a world power. We found it a moving experience. In men like Bevin and Cripps you sense the strength and appeal of the British Labour Party. Bevin is preposterously wide, like a figure drawn out sideways by a comic mirror, he drops every final "g," fails to make connection between plural subjects and singular verbs ("We in the West was trying to bring it about"), looks more like a Low cartoon than a Low cartoon does, and is in addition a great man. Like Al Smith, he got his learning entirely by word of mouth. He spoke mildly, calmly, moderately, like a wise old uncle to a nephew who has suddenly come into money. Once again he pointed up that fascinating race, the most vital of our era, between America's acquiring power and learning to use it. "There is so little time," he keeps repeating; "so little time."

Notes. The Senate would have tied strings to the extension of the flexible tariff if it had known that sterling devaluation was certain. . . . By insisting on devaluation, the Truman Administration assumes a heavy moral responsibility for making it work. Tariff lobbies will now go into high gear, with a big fight likely. . . . The British-Canadian-American wheat deal goes against the Senate's grain. . . . Patriotic ECA head Hoffman, former Studebaker president, took the financial loss in working for the government which other industrialists, like Ilgenfritz, decline to or cannot afford. . . . An important economic group here is sorry to see "dis-inflation" flattening out so soon; present prices, they say, are way too high for stabilization.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Professor Schuman Dissents

SIR: As an old friend and sometime contributor, I cannot refrain from registering acute distress at the increasingly frequent symptoms of pernicious intellectual anemia in the pages of the *New Republic*. The issue of August 29 for example—albeit kept alive by the stimulating transfusions supplied by Robert Lynd, Charles G. Bolte, Percy Winner, Harold Ickes and Cecil Smith—features three pieces which suggest total mental exhaustion.

The leading editorial, proposing union now with Britain in the name of Point Four as a solution of the Anglo-American economic dilemma, can only be regarded by all who are informed of the facts of the problem as beneath criticism. Helen Gahagan Douglas' explanation of why she voted for arms for Europe ("I cannot pit my knowledge against General Bradley") is beneath contempt. And as for the atomic exegesis on American "generosity" and "idealism," *à la* Bernard Baruch, from the pen of Homer Metz—whose illiteracy is apparently so comprehensive that he has never read P. M. S. Blackett, Walter Lippmann, Max Werner or Hanson Baldwin—its distortions and *non sequiturs* are beneath comment.

These uncharitable judgments, which I am sure many of your reflective readers share, have nothing to do with political conclusions or preferences. They arise solely from the execrable misinformation, fantastic illogic and sheer muddleheadedness exemplified in the articles cited. These qualities are normal in Hearst and Luce publications. They are altogether alien to a journal which has always stood for accuracy, clarity and precision in our common efforts, feeble enough at best, to think cogently and act creatively on issues of public policy.

I doubt that this miserable state of affairs is a result of the recent hot weather or of the absence of editors on vacation or of any serious malaise in the inner sanctum. I suspect that it reflects a climate of opinion in which fewer and fewer informed scholars and responsible journalists, to say nothing of editors and congressmen, feel free to risk defamation by writing sense, instead of nonsense, regarding foreign policy. Robert M. Hutchins observed last June:

> We do not throw people into jail because they are alleged to differ with official dogma. We throw them out of work. . . . Critics, even of the mildest sort, will be frightened into silence. Stupidity and injustice will go unchallenged because no one will dare to speak against them.

For an entire generation the *New Republic* has always spoken out against stupidity and injustice. Yet now that the need of challenge is more urgent than ever, these once sparkling pages are all too often filled with drivel by the phrasemongers of philistinism. What to do? Help!

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
Williamstown, Mass.

[Despite his disclaimer, and in the absence of any supporting data, we still feel that what Professor Schuman means to say is that he disagrees with the policy of the *NR* on: 1. Possible union with Britain. 2. The Military Aid Plan. 3. The American proposal for international control of atomic energy. —THE EDITORS]

Do We Need MAP?

SIR: Helen Gahagan Douglas' "shadows" (the *NR*, August 29) cast a shadow of doubt on her arguments for the Military Aid Plan and seem more like instruments for rationalizing a preconceived notion.

Walter Lippmann has already pointed out, and events proved him right, that the shadow of the Russian Army as potential protection for political expansion extends only to Russia's immediate border states with strong Fifth Columns. While Russia is out to communize Europe, she hasn't dared to impose Communist regimes by direct intervention or armed aggression when governments there were shaky, and wouldn't dare as they grow stronger, for fear of provoking war. Capable as the Kremlin men may be of blundering, they are not so stupid as not to learn from lessons of the last two wars that even an isolationist America couldn't and didn't permit the domination of Europe by one power, that America's war potential has been and will continue to be the overwhelming deterrent to such designs.

One could challenge the advisability of the Atlantic Pact by historical discreditable facts that show alliances tend toward greater intensification of an arms race, that some members of alliances often, for their own aggrandizement, provoke and drag others into war (the Atlantic Pact, reinforced by MAP, contains the potential danger of Germany's becoming a participant in both and turning into such an ally) and that alliances lead to wars. But America's powerfu position today, fortified by the Pact should constitute a sufficient "unifying

(*Continued on page* 31)

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VOLUME 121, NUMBER 13, ISSUE 1817, NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1949 **New Republic**

A NEW POLICY FOR ASIA

THE GOVERNMENTS of Britain and America have agreed on a broad partnership in Asia. They are searching for a new program.

The choices are limited, but the need is clear. Western Democracy and Soviet Communism may be embattled in Europe, but in Asia they are working too often for the same objective—defeat of the real forces of Asian independence.

For centuries nationalism has fought against imperialism in Asia. Now it is fighting against imperialism and Communism. Among those contending forces, Communism is emerging, imperialism is declining, nationalism is barely holding its own. Unless the West abandons imperialism to support constructive nationalism in Asia, Communism will win.

In the superficial and at times dishonest debate that has followed publication of the Government's White Paper, one basic fact has not yet been faced: that to millions in the Orient Communism, rather than democracy, seems to answer Asia's needs for rapid industrialization, abolition of illiteracy, racial equality, strong central government and freedom from imperialist exploitation.

The Communists in China have triumphed over the West. They have won out in an incredibly difficult campaign. They have demonstrated their strength in the unparalleled discipline of their armies and their remarkable restraint toward the West after so much provocation. On October 10, the thirty-eighth anniversary of the storming of the Viceroy's palace in Wuchang by Sun Yat-sen, it seems probable that the Communists will establish a Chinese national government with every valid claim to recognition.

We cannot turn a blind eye to these tremendous developments, or dream of buying back the Chinese people at 10 cents a head with a $40 million bribe to Chiang Kai-shek. There are only two possible policies to follow:

We can set out now to promote maximum chaos in China, withholding recognition, extending the cold war in an economic blockade, occupying or arming Formosa, inciting the secret societies to rebellion and flying in arms to local warlords in the hope that China will become ungovernable.

Or we can disengage ourselves from our recent past, our encouraging of reaction, war and chaos, and seek instead to win back the respect and finally the affection of the Chinese people, by promoting their legitimate revolutionary, nationalist impulse—which the Communists have captured and which alone will break them or transform them.

Which policy we follow depends on our analysis of the stability and character of the Chinese Communists, and of our leverage in China.

The policy of promoting chaos corresponds to our inherent impatience, and to the present hysteria of those who rattle sabers and snatch at straws. And yet it holds out no hope.

First, it requires allies within China. Her exhausted and embittered people will not support continued warfare in a discredited and apparently hopeless cause.

Second, it assumes that Formosa can be held by democratic methods. The trouble is that Formosa is China all over again. Its friendly people and rich resources are held—and will be lost—by a corrupt dictator incapable of taking advice from others or of making necessary decisions on his own.

Third, the policy of promoting chaos assumes an economic leverage which we do not possess. China's prewar imports amounted to less than one dollar per year per person; her exports were even less. She grows almost all her own food. Only a few coastal cities can be made to suffer by an American-induced blockade. These cities the Communists are already reducing in size by mass migration. When China undertakes industrialization she will need American capital; but she has waited for two centuries to industrialize and she can continue to wait. On the other hand, China is the traditional source of one quarter of Japan's foreign trade. A cold-war policy of economic blockade is less likely to destroy Communism in China than to bring it about in Japan.

Last, the policy of promoting chaos assumes that the Chinese Communists are basically unstable. Certainly they face enormous problems. War, flood and drought have devastated China's rice and grain areas. Transportation has broken down. Prices are rapidly

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rising. Foreign trade has been reduced to a trickle by the withholding of ECA supplies and by the Nationalist blockade. The Red generals have pressed south, in spite of the protests of civilian Communist leaders, and are making slow progress. And yet trade has been resumed between cities and rural areas, and among the provinces, which in wartime sank into provincial autarchy. Thousands of soldiers are returning to work in the rice paddies as the fighting dies down. On balance, the economic situation in China may well improve.

The hard truth is that Communism is established in China beyond the power of American armaments or dollars or oratory to recall.

The policy of winning back the friendship of the Chinese people dictates a course of patience and inaction that runs counter to the basic temperament of Americans and our present temper, yet it alone holds out hope.

It means granting recognition when the Communist government acknowledges elementary international procedures. It means breaking the Nationalist blockade in order to trade with Communist China. It means accepting many humiliations, including the transfer, by negotiation, of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty. It means working in modest ways to keep a hand in the window and a foot in the door, making it clear to as many Chinese as possible that their welfare is important to us and that we support their national ambitions. It means promoting the revolutionary, nationalist impulse of China which the Communists today have captured.

This policy is not built on illusions concerning the Chinese Communists. It simply recognizes that the Chinese people are ardently nationalist and that the main body of Chinese Communists, like all Communist bodies in Asia, are initially extreme and impatient nationalists who cannot and will not make China a Soviet colony. This distinction between Communism in Asia and Europe must guide the West where the Communists have taken power.

But negotiation and trade with the Communist government of China is not at all incompatible with a much more vigorous policy of opposing the expansion of Communism by military means elsewhere in Asia. The problem is to support and develop the internal forces in Asia capable of resisting Communist armies and overcoming the conditions on which Communism thrives.

Democracy remains the only ultimate alternative to Communism. Yet today when civil war is raging throughout Asia, martial law is more or less the rule from India to Japan. Beyond this, democracy requires standards of well-being, of education, of tolerance, of competence in government, which will take generations to obtain. Meanwhile the democratic movements of the future are the nationalist movements of today, and nationalism remains the sole force in Asia whose appeal is stronger than the appeal of Communism.

Historically the West has opposed nationalism in Asia. Recently it has identified nationalism with Communism, and so delivered it into Communist hands, or it has scorned all nationalism as a barrier to One World.

But nationalism in Asia is not the narrow, obsolete doctrine that holds back the West. Asia's national leaders are ardent internationalists. Independence for them is the only means by which they can obtain proper development and use of their resources after generations of exploitation and misrule.

"Mankind can achieve the inevitable merging of nations only by passing through the transition of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations." The words are Lenin's; Stalin has ignored them. He has thrown the Communist Parties of Asia against its predominant nationalist movements. He is moving to thwart the national independence of China. So, Russia is giving us a second chance.

The Soviet government seems to have decided that to organize, develop, exploit and control all China is beyond its administrative power. It seems to have chosen instead to extend its partial domination from China's border provinces to the richest of all its regions—Manchuria. All of Western Manchuria is being incorporated in the Soviet-influenced autonomous region of Inner Mongolia. This area and Eastern Manchuria are combined in the new region of Northeast China in which the Soviet concession of Dairen and the South Manchurian railway are maintained. Resentment against these intrusions is inevitable and proper among Chinese. Yet only to the extent that the West gives up its own intrusions on Chinese sovereignty, such as Hong Kong, is it free to support the demand of the Chinese for full independence.

Elsewhere in Asia we are moving far too slowly. The extreme right is gaining in Japan. The gap is increasing between the economic problems facing the Indian government and its administrative possibilities. In Southeast Asia, even where independence is established, semi-military governments are struggling without technical assistance or moral support, and political independence conceals the ownership by Western monopolies of basic resources, perpetuating an intolerable drain on wealth, and unbearable poverty.

In Indonesia America backed the Dutch effort of reconquest and suppression for three critical years. But the ECA kept in separate accounts Dutch expenditures

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for internal reconstruction and warfare in Asia. When Dutch conservatives broke the truce with a new military aggression, the ECA aid for warfare was cut off. Since then America has been active in private negotiations. If all goes well, an independent democratic republic of 70 million Indonesians will be established within a year. Yet the negotiations are now deadlocked by Dutch demands for final sovereignty which they have been encouraged to make because our support of Indonesian independence is still undercover and equivocal.

In Indo-China the national revolutionary movement of Viet Nam has been fought with terrible brutality and bankruptcy of ideas by the French. Ho Chi Minh, once a minor Sun Yat-sen, seems to have been forced into the Soviet mold, yet he commands most of the nationalist movement, and most of the nation. French troops alone can maintain the struggling government of the onetime collaborationist, Bao Dai. Yet as long as he exists by French arms he cannot win national support. France cannot govern Indo-China. Her attempted reconquest has been made over the united opposition of the French Left. It has been supported tacitly by America. No breakdown has been made for ECA aid to France. American supplies have underwritten the French campaign. Once more, as in China, foreign aid to perpetuate misrule will prove to be as fatal for the government that gives it as for the government that accepts it.

In these ways we are refusing the second chance that Soviet nationalism and imperialism have given us.

There is no longer time for compromise with reaction and imperialism. The Chinese Communists are doing us the service of forcing the issue.

Our counter initiative in Asia should begin with an open declaration, by Britain and America, that our combined political force will be placed behind constructive nationalism in Asia, and that our combined resources will be placed behind the development of Asia's resources for the benefit of its own peoples.

(*This is the first of a series on a new policy in Asia. Two further editorials will deal with the problems of the Japanese peace treaty and of regional security, and economic aid to India and the future of Point Four.*)

THE WEEK

WHAT DEVALUATION MEANS

By devaluing the pound before a general election the Labour Party may have sacrificed itself in order to save Britain. It had no choice.

In 1926 Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, returned Britain to the gold standard with an overvalued exchange rate. The extent of overvaluation increased as Britain failed to keep pace with the rise in world productivity. The effort to maintain the exchange rate led to penny pinching, lower standards and depression. It broke the second Labour Government, which attempted to maintain the pound while reversing domestic trends.

In defeat the Labour Party resolved that never again would it sacrifice its domestic objectives on the altar of a fixed exchange rate. Yet for many reasons the third Labour Government was led into an effort to maintain the pound at the 1938 rate of $4.03, although American productivity had gained 20 percent on Britain in the wartime and postwar years. The Labour Government refused to maintain this fixed rate by conservative methods. It attempted, instead, to maintain it by increasing controls on trade and exchange.

Yet these controls could not provide the real solution of increasing dollar earnings. And they could not prevent the Swiss government and others from selling pounds for dollars at $2.90 or less. For these reasons Britain's dollar position has worsened, and the sterling system, whose essence has been free convertibility for all nations at a recognized exchange, has declined.

Devaluation will reverse these trends. Combined with the American economic upturn and the emergency measures taken by the Washington conference, it will save Britain's dwindling reserves. Other nations will become willing to hold sterling again. Manufacturers, not only in England but in all the countries whose exchanges are pegged to the pound, will be encouraged to sell in America and discouraged from purchasing here.

Yet there is great danger that the contribution of devaluation will be to cut British imports rather than to increase British exports. Unless productivity is raised and sterling sales are increased with America's vigorous cooperation in tariff reduction and purchases of sterling goods, devaluation becomes a means of solving Britain's crisis by lowering the living standards of British workers.

The Labour Party has been under heavy pressure to permit wage increases. Now the pressure is certain to grow. By raising the price of American imports by one-third, devaluation will probably force British prices up by about 10 percent. Strikes will follow in the effort to keep real wages from falling. Some will be led by Communists, but most by the Labour Party's own hard-pressed rank and file. On the eve of a general election the government must fight all these pressures.

Whether or not we forced the La-

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bour Government to devalue, America will be held largely responsible by the British people. Workers will be vulnerable to left-wing charges that Cripps has surrendered to American capitalism. Middle-class Britishers will be exposed to Tory demagogues charging that Cripps has whittled away their pensions and their savings. All this makes continued Anglo-American action more urgent than ever.

The Washington conference accomplished a great deal. Yet it frankly admitted that the emergency measures it agreed on offer no lasting solution to the sterling crisis. Hope rests entirely in the long-range actions which the US, Britain and Canada promised to undertake together. The trouble is that, under the attacks of isolationists and the New York financial papers, the three nations stopped short of creating any secretariat to implement their long-range decisions. The only joint organization created to carry on further study and action is a private committee under the doubtful chairmanship of Winthrop Aldrich of the Chase National Bank.

It is now America's turn. The immediate problem is India, whose ability to import American goods is reduced by devaluation but whose urgent need remains. Our immediate opportunity to match the Labour Government's courage is to give extensive and generous aid to India when Pandit Nehru arrives next month.

BIG STEEL SAYS NO

Big Steel's stiff-necked rejection of the pensions recommended by the President's Fact-Finding Board has placed the sharp weapon of public opinion in union hands. Phil Murray's CIO Steelworkers accepted the Board's proposals despite their adverse sections; Murray exposed himself to criticism by union members by abandoning his fight for a fourth-round wage increase. Big Steel's refusal to accept the recommendations for social insurance and pensions may well result in a strike in which Murray will have much to win and little to lose.

At Pittsburgh, where top officials of the CIO Steelworkers have been meeting, Murray has been under heavy attack from the left-wing unions, and some of the right-wing ones as well, for his prompt acceptance of the Board's proposals. It was noticeable that no immediate endorsement of his action came from Walter Reuther, militant president of the United Automobile Workers, who has been demanding both wage increases and pensions from the motor-car companies. John L. Lewis, whose United Mine Workers already have pensions bigger than Murray's men would get under the Steel Board report, has given no sign that he would abandon his fight for a fourth-round wage increase. If the Steelworkers strike as a result of Big Steel's action, Murray will not only have a sympathetic public, but also united labor support. The miners have threatened to walk out to force their new principle of "no pension fund, no work."

The Board's report, carefully based on the steel companies' ability to carry out the program, recommended that the sum of $200 per year per worker be set aside for social insurance and pensions. This would be equivalent to a wage increase of about 10 cents an hour (six cents for pensions, four cents for social insurance), or less if management is already operating such welfare plans. The union had previously asked for a 30-cent benefit package, of which 12.5 cents was for increased wages.

The dispute over exclusive company financing of a social-insurance program is likely to go on for many months. The Board reasoned that the responsibility for pensions is with the companies: "Social insurance and pensions should be considered a part of normal business costs, to take care of temporary and permanent depreciation of the human machine, in much the same way as provision is made for depreciation and insurance of plant and machinery. This obligation should be among the first charges on revenues."

Benjamin A. Fairless, president of US Steel, charged that "to impose such a non-contributory principle . . . upon a basic industry, such as steel, is a revolutionary doctrine of far-reaching and serious consequences to the whole nation." The Steelworkers, said Fairless, want a welfare program "at the expense of someone else."

The idea that unions are trying to get something for nothing is one that Big Steel would like to promote. Actually, the unions are simply asking for a wage increase which would be saved up for them by the company. It is no more "something for nothing" than is any other wage increase agreed upon between management and union. And, as several labor experts have pointed out, this kind of wage increase, paid by establishing a long-term sinking fund, is actually easier for most companies to pay at this moment than a fourth-round wage increase.

A TRUMAN VICTORY

Extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act will be remembered as President Truman's most decisive victory in this session of Congress. The Senate has passed the two-year renewal of his trade program without a single restrictive curb on his bargaining power. During 14 roll-call votes the crippling amendments and substitute bills, offered by Republicans, were defeated one by one. The bill, already passed by the House, has been signed by the President at a time when, the Administration believes, it will strengthen our hand in efforts to induce European nations to remove the restrictions that have hampered revival of trade among themselves.

While the final Senate vote was 62 to 19, some test votes were so close that Vice President Barkley—for the first time since taking office—used his power to break the tie. The Administration's major hurdle was Senator Eugene Millikin's (R, Colo.) "peril-point" amendment, which would have empowered the Tariff Commission to set points below which Truman could not cut tariffs without an assumed "danger" to the affected industry. The Senate defeated this, 43 to 38; 35 Republicans and three Democrats (Johnson of Colorado, O'Mahoney of Wyoming and Thomas of Oklahoma) voted

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for the restriction, and 43 Democrats opposed it.

The Administration, backed almost solidly by the Democrats, defeated a proposal by Senator Joseph McCarthy (R, Wis.) to slap a quota restriction on foreign imports of fur. Senator Elmer Thomas (D, Okla.) unsuccessfully tried to limit imports of foreign petroleum and petroleum products to five percent of domestic needs. An amendment by Senator William F. Knowland (R, Calif.) to suspend trade concessions to any country which discriminates against American goods was defeated, 54 to 27.

Much of the credit for the Administration's victory goes to Senator Walter F. George (D, Ga.), floor manager for the bill, who, in his closing plea for passage without restrictions read a letter from former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, father of the trade program. Hull called the program "an indispensable cornerstone of enduring peace based on international coöperation, upon the success of which our own security and prosperity depend."

PRIMARY IN DETROIT

DETROIT (NR correspondent)

Last week's election in Detroit was a discouraging one for liberals. It also showed what happens when trade unionists fail to stand together and work for their common interests.

Among the eleven candidates for mayor in the primary, the outstanding liberal was George Edwards, a leader in the United Automobile Workers, CIO, head of the City Council and active in Americans for Democratic Action (see page 11). Yet he was overwhelmingly defeated in the primary by Albert E. Cobo, the city treasurer, whose plurality of 56,000 was the second highest in any primary in the city's history, and seems to ensure his victory in the coming election. Edwards, of course, had the support of the UAW. But most of the AFL unions supported Cobo, at the instigation of the AFL leader, Francis X. Martell.

The division in the forces of labor is also reflected in the choice of individuals to make the race for the City Council. There are nine places on the council, and among the nine candidates receiving the largest total of votes are six of the present members, who are thus practically assured of re-election. Not one of them is identified with progressivism.

The primary also endorsed a loyalty purge of city workers, by a vote of nearly four to one. A Loyalty Investigating Committee will be created which will look into charges against an individual. If they seem to have merit, the person accused will be tried by a five-man Loyalty Commission.

Mr. Justice Minton

With the appointment of Judge Sherman Minton, the Supreme Court is stamped indelibly for years to come with President Truman's image. He has appointed four members in about four and one-half years—Chief Justice Vinson and Justices Burton, Clark, and now Minton (confirmation of the latest appointment is a certainty, and may have taken place before these words are read).

Of the selection of Judge Minton it can be said at once that the President might have done worse, and might have done better. Justice Minton, both as a member of the US Senate and as a judge of the federal Circuit Court of Appeals, has always shown himself a sturdy liberal, especially in the field of anti-monopoly legislation and civil liberties. In his decision in a case against the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, charged with restraint of trade, he ruled against the company, warning about the power of a large corporation to take unfair advantage of its competitors. He made a similar point in a decision against the Standard Oil Company. At the same time his liberalism seems to have been more a matter of going along with the Democratic Party, and the President, than of any burning inner conviction. In Congress, he supported every aspect of President Roosevelt's New Deal with such zeal that he was made Democratic whip in the Senate.

Judge Minton's rise in Indiana politics coincided with the governorship of Paul V. McNutt, after he had made a brief attempt to practise law in Florida. In Indiana he was a member of the McNutt circle, nicknamed "the two-percenters" because of a popular theory that all state officeholders were required to pay two percent of their salaries to the political organization. He was elected to the Senate in 1934, and his seat was next to that of Senator Truman of Missouri, in "freshman row" in the back of the Chamber. Truman and Minton were part of a group of four which became close friends. The other two members—Lewis Schwellenbach of Washington and Nathan Bachman of Tennessee—are both dead. Minton was defeated after one term—not because of anything in his personal record but because Wendell Willkie swept Indiana and carried to victory the Republican Senatorial candidate, Raymond E. Willis.

In nominating Judge Minton, the President has again ignored the idea that there should be a Catholic on the bench, as he did in sending up the name of Attorney General Tom Clark to succeed the late Justice Frank Murphy. Judge Minton is a Protestant, though his wife adheres to the Catholic faith.

The President may have been influenced in choosing Judge Minton by the argument, often heard, that Supreme Court Justices should be chosen from the federal Circuit Courts. The theory is that if this were done more often, it would be possible to get better men to accept Circuit Court nominations, which usually means a heavy financial sacrifice. It is more probable, however, that the President was again reverting to his deplorable habit of choosing men for high posts because they happen to be friends of his, and not because of essential fitness for the jobs for which they are selected. While this appointment is enormously better than that of Tom Clark, the bad principle remains the same.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

ROME

Pope Pius XII has finally intervened in a great political controversy which has been and is going on between Catholic liberals on the one hand and Catholic conservatives and reactionaries on the other. The debate is over the interpretation of the practical meaning —in political terms—of the Roman Catholic Church's recent decree condemning Communism as a personal offense for which a Catholic communicant was liable to the extreme punishment of excommunication. The rightists have argued that the decree was directed not only against Communism and fellow-traveling attitudes but also against any form whatsoever of liberalism that might give aid and comfort to the Communists. The leftists insisted that this view was a distorted exaggeration.

The controversy has been particularly bitter in France, where the liberal tradition of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* has such distinguished and courageous proponents as Emmanuel Mounier, editor of the influential magazine *Esprit*; where during the early years of World War II such Catholic liberals as Jacques Maritain and Georges Bernanos confounded the reactionaries; and where the retrograde social ideas often associated with the Society of Jesus (the Jesuit order) have on various historic occasions been successfully combated by the more progressive ideas of the Dominicans. But the debate has also been very much a live political issue in England, in every Western European country in which Catholics have or want to have political influence, and even in the United States.

The Pope's intervention took the form of a statement in a radio broadcast; it was almost his first public utterance on the decree issued at the end of June. The timing and the circumstances were almost as significant as the statement itself. For it was made only a matter of weeks after Mounier in *Esprit* had challenged the Holy See by announcing his intention to continue to work for liberalism. (See "The Future of Catholic Liberalism," the *NR*, September 5.) And it was addressed to German Catholics assembled in the town of Bochum, almost on the eve of the first session of the new West German state's parliament at Bonn.

France, especially French labor, is in the throes of an effort to prevent rightists led by Paul Reynaud from cutting down social security and crippling the existing labor legislation. Germans, now for the first time since the war able to exercise a degree of self-determination, have elected by a narrow majority a government which through Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, head of the Christian Democrats, speaks the mind of the Vatican in regard to "social doctrine." Similar governments already exist elsewhere in Europe—in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Belgium. But the new German government is on the threshold of adopting social and labor legislation which may set precedents for the future. Bonn starts with a legislative *tabula rasa*, and what it does will be far more important than what Madrid's or Lisbon's regime has perpetuated from the past or what Rome and Brussels have adapted from the past. Moreover, it is by an effort to regain strength in Germany that the Vatican is trying to make up for its losses in Central and Eastern Europe. And the effort has been so successful that most political observers believe the Vatican to be stronger in Western Europe than it has been for centuries—stronger in the sense of exerting greater and more direct political influence.

The Pope's intervention in the debate between the Catholic Right and Left was not entirely conclusive. Parts of his broadcast gave encouragement to Catholic liberals; others did not. For the liberals, he pointed out that the recent anti-Communist decree did not change the Church's attitude on the contrast between rich and poor, or mean any lessening of its zeal, through many years, for "the mitigation of social inequalities." The conservatives found comfort in his statement that sacrifices are required from all and that "the particular interest of workers' organizations . . . should be sacrificed generously." The Pontiff then continued:

> The Church . . . does not cease to act efficaciously so that the apparent contradiction between capital and labor, between the entrepreneur and the worker, *should be transformed into a superior unity*, that is, into that *organic coöperation* of the two parts, wanted by nature itself and consisting in collaboration of both parts according to the activities, to the *economic sector in the coördination of professions.* (Italics mine. – P. W.)

And he added:

> May it please God that the day be not distant in which those organizations of self-defense could cease to function, that the defects of the economic system until now existing and, above all, the lack of Christian mentality have made necessary. It is up to you to prepare for the coming of that day in your country [Germany].

This sounds very much like the fascist Corporative State, embodied in the Italian Charter of Labor drawn up in 1926, especially since the phrase "organizations of self-defense" was officially interpreted, after the broadcast, as meaning labor unions. The very next day, the Italian government gave a preview of its proposed new legislation which would limit the constitutional provision guaranteeing the rights of labor. But it was to the Germans that the Pope made his special appeal: "Who . . . more than you is called to ease the way for this decisive point of social reorganization . . . ?"

The debates in the new German parliament will go far toward making clear whether or not Catholic liberalism, as decreed by the head of the Church, does or does not mean revival, in some form, of the corporate state.

PERCY WINNER

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LEFT OF CENTER

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS tend to divide the political energies of the labor movement, for many and ancient reasons. Contests for local office revolve around graft, corruption, patronage, personalities, national and religious groupings. Trade unions, as unions, feel no compelling reason to unite on any of these matters, as they do, for instance, on an issue like Taft-Hartley in a Congressional election. As a result, in the odd-numbered years—like 1947 and 1949—the liberal and labor political movement seems, to the superficial observer, to be falling apart.

This year is no exception. In Detroit, where George Edwards, CIO auto-union leader, City Council head and prominent member of Americans for Democratic Action, is candidate for mayor, Francis X. Martell has thrown AFL support to City Treasurer Cobo. Martell's move is directed not only against the CIO but against those AFL unions in Detroit that challenge his leadership. Edwards and Cobo were the two winners in the primary on September 13, in which there were 11 candidates in all. The present mayor, Eugene I. Van Antwerp, ran third, and Richard T. Frankensteen, former vice-president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, was fourth. Frankensteen is now in private business.

In Minneapolis, the dynamic young John Simmons, considered the logical successor to US Senator Hubert H. Humphrey in local affairs, was defeated late this summer by Eric Hoyer. Simmons had the backing of most of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, of the AFL Central Labor Union, of the CIO textile and auto unions. Hoyer had the backing of the Republicans, the Communists, the Catholic Church (Simmons is a Protestant clergyman), the CIO Council. Probably the fiercest division was within a single union, the AFL teamsters, where the drivers were hot for Hoyer and the warehousemen were equally afire for Simmons.

In Newark, labor mayor Vincent Murphy, head of the AFL Essex County trade-union council, was defeated by a slate headed by Moran of the CIO and Carlin of the AFL.

In New York City, labor and liberals are seriously split between Newbold Morris, liberal Republican of the LaGuardia vintage, and William O'Dwyer, Democrat. The story repeats itself in Buffalo, where the Democrats run a CIO man for a place on the council while the GOP counters with an AFL man for the same post. In San Francisco, the AFL as a whole was backing one slate for city office while members of its locals in the painters' union backed another.

Divided or united, labor will be using the 1949 elections as an exercise in developing machinery to get out the vote. In New York State, for instance, former Governor Lehman may get real help in his campaign for US Senator by the fierce competition among the unions in New York City to get out the vote in the municipal contest. A big vote in the metropolis will be a big vote for Lehman. The former Governor will be further strengthened by the decision of the American Labor Party not to offer a candidate, following the refusal of Henry Wallace to run. Many of the ALP supporters will presumably vote for Lehman.

The real effect of labor's efforts will not be felt until 1950, however, since the primary drive this year will be to register voters for next year's Congressional elections. The odd-numbered years are well suited to registration campaigns because of a curious legal situation, the fact that the Taft-Hartley Act prohibits the use of union funds for *federal* election campaigns but does not prevent the use of regular union funds for local elections and for *registration* drives. As a result of this situation, the AFL's Labor's League for Political Education has two separate funds: a regular political fund obtained from voluntary contributions, and a special educational one drawn from union treasuries. The latter is the fund on which the League has been operating in 1949 and it now totals $413,395. Many unions which are generally considered non-political and conservative-minded are making heavy contributions: Boilermakers, $15,000; Bridge and Iron Workers, $10,700; Electricians, $19,741; Molders, $23,000; Plumbers, $15,000; and Teamsters, $62,500.

The AFL International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has developed a special gimmick, written into a number of its Pennsylvania contracts, whereby union members get a half-day off with full pay, in which to register. They get the pay only on proof that they registered. They get another half-day with pay in which to vote!

The unions have fought hard to get their members registered in Pennsylvania. This is partly because they are anxious to reëlect Francis Myers to the US Senate, and partly because of the by-election for US Representative in which Mrs. Robert L. Coffey was the Democratic candidate to succeed her son. Mrs. Coffey was defeated, however, in the special election on September 13.

Although labor continues a formal non-partisan policy, the unions moved a step closer to the Democratic Party as a result of the appointment of Guy Gabrielson to head the GOP National Committee. "The political outlook has been changed," reports the Department of Political Direction to the AFL heads, "by the action of the Republican National Committee in ousting its Dewey-selected Chairman, Congressman Scott of Pennsylvania, and substituting Guy Gabrielson of New Jersey. This is of great importance to the 1950 campaign because it gives Taft almost complete control of the Republican Party."

The AFL also excoriates the "Young Republican" convention whose decisions put it far to the Right of the GOP itself. How young is young, in the GOP?

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MORE ON UNION WITH BRITAIN

FOUR WEEKS AGO, the *New Republic* published an editorial recommending "immediate agreement" between the United States and Great Britain that union of these two nations should be considered a desirable ultimate goal. In our issue of September 19, we published a number of comments on this editorial, and additional ones appear below.

Your editorial puts the *New Republic* right where it should be—out in the front in the world of ideas. It is so thoughtful that I am placing it at once in the *Congressional Record.*

United States Senate, LISTER HILL
Washington, D. C.

You have touched on a vital subject in a challenging way.

United States Senate, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG
Washington, D. C.

I was tremendously interested in your editorial, because we on the Louisville *Courier-Journal* have been thinking along somewhat the same line without spelling it out as well as you did.

Socialism is probably the result and not the cause of Britain's troubles. They go back to the First World War and to the exhausting experiences she's had since then, including those you cited in your editorial. No matter how they came about, one thing we do know is that we cannot let her go under. That conviction does not come out of sentiment but out of our own sense of self-preservation. If she does go under, or if she becomes much weaker than she is, she will drag down a good part of the world with her and put us very close to a war for our own survival.

I don't think union in the wider sense is possible of achievement now. I am very much afraid that we shall try a number of fumbling steps that will only deepen the trouble for a while, but I do hope that before it's too late we will have sense enough to realize that we have got to combine our strength with Britain's weakness, and rebuild her strength.

Louisville, Ky. MARK ETHRIDGE

The gravity of the current situation, both in Great Britain and in the world, suggests that the emphasis be placed on reasonably possible, immediate remedial steps rather than on long-term objectives.

The British crisis certainly offers us the opportunity to show the world that we want imports in order that the United States may continue as the world's leading creditor —imports particularly from Britain, the nation which before the war was our best market.

Let us do the following to prove this:

1. Encourage the British to forget the "sanctity" of sterling and to devalue the pound to its present real parity in purchasing power, of $3 instead of the present unreal official rate of $4.03, to stimulate US imports from Britain. [Morris Cooke wrote, of course, before the British action of September 18 devaluing the pound from $4.03 to $2.80, an action promptly followed by Norway, Denmark, Australia, India, Eire, Egypt and South Africa, with other countries undoubtedly to follow.]

2. In return we will lower or cancel our import duties on British products on a most-favored-nation basis, thus accepting our world role by allowing similar reductions on the same products from other countries. Can we take it? Yes, if we recognize that competition is the essence of that free-enterprise system on which we have staked our resources, developed our "know-how" and thus built our strength.

3. Recreate the Point Four program into the bold and new thing our President conceived, before it was whittled down by "experts." The American people want this done.

4. Let the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank extend loans to the Dominions and dependent overseas territories in the British Commonwealth, thus relieving the drain on the sterling-dollar pool.

5. Let the Export-Import Bank guarantee the investment of private US capital abroad in productive enterprises against risks peculiar to foreign investment—convertibility of profits and capital, but not of profits *per se.* Private capital must take the business risks if free enterprise is to be kept alive in the free world.

6. Push forward the technical-assistance program with all vigor, persuading the British to invite us to lend them our "know-how" to modernize their plant—which was allowed to become archaic during the long Tory ascendency.

If both Great Britain and the United States are to survive as free people, neither can afford to turn its back on constantly closer relations as a dominant long-term objective.

Washington, D. C. MORRIS L. COOKE

You have tackled this most important matter in a bold fashion, and have offered a lead which most people seem too timid to recommend.

Basically, I am in entire sympathy with your thinking. Interdependence between the United States and the British Commonwealth is the keystone and should, as you say, be honestly and openly recognized by both sides. Personally, I feel that Britain's threatened breakdown is attributable in some measure to the nationalization of industry and the adoption of social services which the nation is incapable of sustaining at present.

However, I feel that the United States—and this applies to Canada as well—should have no part in expressing

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opinions as to the party which the British electorate places in office through a democratic election. The press comment which one sees in certain quarters on this continent belittling the British and criticizing them for the attitude of begging is greatly to be deplored.

Royal Trust Company, ROSS CLARKSON
Montreal, Canada

I agree with your editorial. I believe that the next step must be a merging of the dollar and sterling areas. Anything less will not be adequate and will prove more costly in the long run.

Union Theological Seminary, REINHOLD NIEBUHR
New York City

I think yours is an excellent editorial, but I am sorry to see that you are not recommending immediate union. I believe that there is no other solution to the problems of the modern world along any sensible line whatever except one involving federal union of the British Empire and the other Western countries of Europe, and the United States. Just the British Empire and the United States are not enough either. There is no solution to the problems of the modern world except world government, and we should take as much of a step toward this as possible at present, and should do it just as rapidly as possible. This means to me that those countries that are accustomed to parliamentary government, a recognition of what is contained in our Bill of Rights, should look forward to immediate federal union, with the money problem and tariffs as one of the immediate objectives of such union.

University of Chicago HAROLD C. UREY
Chicago, Ill.

Your editorial is timely and forceful. As you so clearly point out: We have a vital interest in unity. We cannot afford to fall apart. Both sides know this at heart and both should recognize it.

Washington, D. C. WAYNE CHATFIELD-TAYLOR

I found your editorial excellent and strongly agree with almost everything you say. I am surprised to find how many people in the government (notably excluding John Snyder) are thinking along the same lines. I have a sort of instinct that sooner or later some form of economic union will be seriously offered; but it is most likely to be offered under much the same circumstances as Winston Churchill's desperate last-minute offer of common citizenship to the French in 1940.

Washington, D. C. STEWART ALSOP

There are formidable technical and psychological obstacles in the way of closer economic and political association with Britain. However, further deterioration in Britain's world position would have so serious an impact on American security and prosperity that heroic measures must be taken to deal with the crisis. Perhaps what we need now is "short of union" measures similar to those "short of war" which we took in 1940-41. The North Atlantic triangle of the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom should be effectively integrated, no attempt being made for the present to deal with all of the British Commonwealth. Generosity and enlightened self-interest require no less. And time and necessity will demand much more.

Institute for Advanced Study, EDWARD M. EARLE
Princeton, N. J.

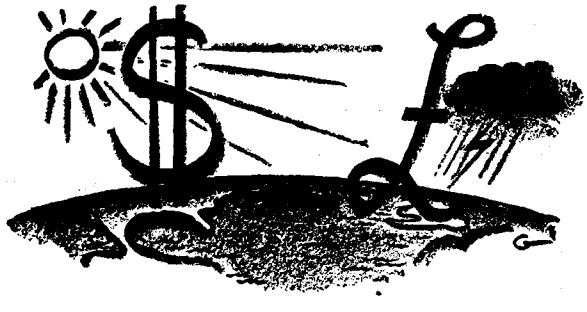
The subject of your August 29 editorial interested me very much. I consider it one of the most important issues the US is facing, and I agree with the line of the editorial. Union in the West—of some kind or other—must be one wing of our policy just as a universal union—of some kind—to prevent war and establish peace must be the other. Both of these are long-term, in the sense that neither can be realized in the very immediate future or, indeed, within the immediate scope of US foreign policy. This is not to say that they should not be injected into our foreign policy now, as objectives toward which we must work. For this reason I like your policy of saying that we must have ultimate aims and must state them now.

But what troubles me is: what kind of union should we seek in the West? First, with whom shall we seek union? The United Kingdom alone? Then what happens to the Commonwealth and the sterling area? The United Kingdom plus all the Commonwealth? Or plus the whole sterling bloc? Or plus part only? Should the union be economic only, and if so, what in heaven's name is an economic union unless you have a political union? Does not the functional nature of the union determine the countries which should be in the union?

If economic considerations are paramount, then the union can be wide, but it won't be a union. If military considerations are paramount, then the union must be narrow. But what are the considerations which make us want union? Are they economic, political or military, or, if all of them, in what proportion is our interest in each?

I do not know the answers to all these questions. But I do know that some kind of union in the West is becoming an imperative, for economic and military reasons, and that it is of great importance that we start talking and thinking about the subject. Nothing good will come except at the hands of an informed and very interested public opinion.

New York City THOMAS K. FINLETTER



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CRISIS IN YUGOSLAVIA

by Mark Gayn

THESE ARE tense and eventful days in Belgrade. No guns have been fired—yet —but there is a pervading sense of crisis. Moscow has formally dedicated itself to overthrowing the government of Marshal Tito. Cominform leaders have held a series of well-publicized meetings in Sofia. Russian tank divisions are reported massed along Yugoslav frontiers.

The Yugoslav leaders do not look surprised. They have been taken aback by the violence of Moscow's démarche, but they had expected some action all along. For months, the leaders here have been preparing their people for the break—with Russia, with Eastern Europe, with the whole soil and tradition of Communist orthodoxy.

A correspondent returning after a brief absence cannot fail to see the change. The Soviet Union is no longer extolled in the slogans emblazoned on fences. The press fires a daily broadside at the Russian foreign policy ("betrayal of socialism"). *Yezh*, or Porcupine, the leading satirical weekly, saves its sharpest barbs for Moscow, with the West getting the duller leftovers. And Stalin himself, the political saint of yesterday, is no longer immune to ridicule. An army speaker rises at a mass meeting to say: "Stalin should be ashamed of his mustache for all these lies!" Last spring, he would have been court-martialed for far less.

The crisis has had some odd results. For one thing, it has united the people behind Tito as they have not been united since the war. This applies even to groups normally hostile to him.

Another result, probably shrewdly calculated by the Cominform, has been to push Tito closer to the West. Whether he likes it or not, Tito must now modify his policies. He has himself admitted drastic changes in the Five-Year Plan. He is currently wooing the Western bankers with an ardor that must at times be painful to him. He has helped to write off the Greek rebellion, at least for this season. Each of these moves makes it easier for the Cominform to portray Tito as a traitor to his own Communist followers.

The news on Yugoslavia did not break into headlines until late in August, but the crisis actually began in May, when the Cominform nations severed their trade with this country. Like other European countries, Yugoslavia is suffering from a hunger for foreign exchange. Unlike them, she has no reserves, nor can she do any industrial retrenching. Her production is so meager that it cannot be cut. And even to keep it at this level requires foreign exchange for oil and cotton, for machinery and coke.

The Cominform's decision to blockade Yugoslavia was made early this year, when it became apparent that Tito would survive the political pressure. The Cominform countries began to cut down their deliveries, while at the same time demanding ever larger amounts of Yugoslav goods. As late as last June, desperate Belgrade is known to have offered major trade concessions to its enemies in an effort to stave off the break. Nothing availed.

The impact of the blockade was doubly painful because Yugoslavia's industrial plant was already suffering from shortages. Over-age equipment was falling apart. First to feel the pinch was the motor-truck industry, which depended almost entirely on Czech parts. Next came the electrical industry, steel, and mining (which has managed to keep up its output only by pouring in manpower). The blockade played its part in the sharp drop of industrial production—in some key industries to 20 percent of the planned target. Already, the industry is gasping for coke, which it used to get from Poland and Czechoslovakia, for steel, electrical machinery and vital machine parts.

As a result, the more adventurous segments of the Five-Year Plan have been trimmed heavily. In many industries, the planned targets have been cut sharply. But none of these moves carries with it a remedy, and the picture is bleak indeed.

Strangely enough, the blockade may result in an improved standard of living. The fact is that Yugoslavia has been robbing her own larder to get from the East the industrial items she needs. Thus, Poland received 100,000 tons of wheat annually in 1947 and 1948. The Czechs have been getting precious fats. Such semi-luxuries as wine and tobacco will now stay in Yugoslavia, instead of delighting her neighbors.

But even with more food kept at home, life is still a matter of shortages and queues. Buying a comb or a cake of soap assumes the proportions of a major problem. The people are ragged and ill-shod, and announcements of sales bring out customers at daybreak and require police intervention to handle the jam. Food stocks are inadequate, and even in the villages children sicken for lack of milk and fats. All trade has been nationalized, but supplies are short, prices high and distribution is woefully poor. Meat, fats and soap are

Mark Gayn is now traveling in Eastern Europe as a free-lance writer. He is the author of several books dealing with the Orient.

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rationed, but the ration is meager and not always honored. Sooner or later, a housewife finds it necessary to go to the "open" market. Here, a cake of good toilet soap costs two to three days' pay, a pound of butter two days' wages, a pair of chickens a week's pay.

There is, however, a reverse side to this dark picture. Despite some inequities, there is a rough justice in distribution. Those who work the hardest, such as the miners, eat the best. A million people buy their meals below cost at community kitchens maintained by state factories and offices. The immense construction effort is already yielding results, in schools and hospitals, in new highways, in vast blocks of low-rent apartments, in village coöperative centers. The social services are all-embracing. Finally, with this year's fair harvest in the bins, no one need go hungry this winter.

Alongside the scarcities marches grumbling—widespread, vigorous and profane. Yet, few competent observers feel that this is a sign of general unrest which might develop into a revolt and which is kept down only by an efficient police force. Tito's bases of support are many and broad.

These bases, of course, include all the military and para-military groups, topped by Alexander Rankovich's UDBA (Administration of State Security), with some 10,000 agents. Next come the 40,000 men of KNOJ, or National Defense Corps, which guards Tito and patrols the frontiers. Militia adds another 60,000 men to the security force. The army has 225,000 to 250,000 men.

The youth of Yugoslavia follows, the least questioning and the most enthusiastic supporters of Tito. This is the buoyant element which is building highways, filling in swamps, erecting such towns as New Belgrade. Still more important are the former unskilled workers, to whom even present scarcity is an improvement on the past. Along with them come the poor peasants, to whom life in the collective farms is a big step forward.

There is finally, and most importantly, the Communist Party. Official statistics throw interesting light on it. Of the nine members of the all-powerful Politburo, four were appointed only after the break with the Cominform. Of the 63 Central Committee members, 37 are under the age of 40, and 14 are under 35. What the party may lack in Communist tradition, it makes up in loyalty to the undisputed boss.

Within the party, however, there may be a small segment which has escaped UDBA's scrutiny and remains—at least secretly—loyal to orthodoxy, Moscow style. The Cominform's propaganda is obviously beamed solely at these people. No one can know if such a segment really exists, but if it does, it is the only one that can carry out a coup d' état and seize power.

What active opposition does exist is based mainly on rural discontent. One of the highest figures estimated for me the hostile "kulak element" at 10 percent of the village population. This opposition, of course, can give no comfort to the Cominform. But it could be, and has been, troublesome to Tito. Officials in the five Yugoslav republics I visited told me of the strong opposition to the collectivization drive, which has by now socialized one-fifth of Yugoslavia's arable land. But the village opposition remains disorganized and leaderless. It could not unseat Tito. What other opposition there is, is scattered and presumably demoralized by "preventive arrests." Little news of this opposition trickles into the press.

The total of political prisoners remains a mystery. The other week, the Yugoslavs themselves put the figure at 1,500. Western estimates range from 5,000 to "somewhere below 10,000."

For the strategists of the cold war in Washington, this is clearly a time of opportunity. Yet they have moved thus far with a curious slowness. It is a matter of record that Tito has as yet gotten little but crumbs from the West. The Export-Import Bank has granted a loan of $20 million and we have released materials for a $3 million steel mill. A $600 million five-year trade pact may be signed with Britain in the next few weeks, but is being held up by the problem of credits.

Reports here indicate that the State Department is willing to help, but the Pentagon is not. With Defense Secretary Louis Johnson at the head, the military feel

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that Tito cannot be trusted, and that he can return to Moscow's fold as easily as he slipped out of it.

Yet, Yugoslavia is clearly in the depths of an economic crisis, and the Yugoslavs, buoyant six months ago, are desperate now. They suspect Washington and London of a political squeeze play, intended presumably to wrest more concessions as to policy and method from their weakened country.

For the moment, the Belgrade headlines are a bit on the excited side. War, of course, will justify them. But if there is no war, the economic crisis will remain. If Yugoslavia gets enough aid, Tito will survive the crisis—provided there is no war, no palace coup, and some readiness to junk the more ambitious sections of the Five-Year Plan.

Belgrade

THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE

by James R. Newman

C. H. WADDINGTON, professor of animal genetics at the University of Edinburgh, is of that small group of scientists—may their tribe increase—who understand the relation between science and society and have a sense of responsibility for social problems that transcends the normally limited outlook of the specialist. They are, in other words, sensible and courageous men as well as scientists. The conjunction of these qualities is rarer than is perhaps commonly supposed; and on this side of the water, especially, as the pressures of conformity mount and the penalties for social and political heresy become severer, the number of scientists at once aware of their time and prepared to defend sane ideas and rational behavior outside the domain of their disciplines grows dangerously small.

Waddington's little book, *The Scientific Attitude*, written for the admirable Pelican series, struck me on its appearance in 1941 as the work of an uncommonly perceptive and stimulating mind. Revised and somewhat enlarged, the book has now been reissued (Pelican Books, London; 50 cents) and on rereading it I find my original impressions reinforced. Because the issues it treats have reached an even more critical stage than in 1941, I should like to discuss a few of its points at some length.

Waddington began his career as a geologist interested in the historical aspects of evolution; later he turned to genetics, where he has attained first rank. He is a fellow of the Royal Society, has published many technical papers and several books, including *Science and Ethics*, and keeps watch over social and political matters no nice biologist ought to worry about. To this essay on the common sense of science, Waddington brings a happy mixture of skepticism, tolerance, scientific insight, friendliness and a practicality gained, at least in part, from his first-hand experience in operational research with the British Air Force during the war. Here, it is plain to see, is a scientist who respects men as well as ideas and has taken thought to both; he is what is certainly exceptional—a scientist with a scientific attitude.

What is the ideal scientific attitude? I would find it not easy to describe, but fortunately Waddington's book makes a good crib. The scientific attitude is, of course, less the product of innate qualities than of education and social influence. Its attributes depend on present circumstances and are neither ubiquitous nor eternal; the scientific attitude suitable to the age of Roger Bacon or to the Balinese is not the scientific attitude appropriate to twentieth-century Western man. It makes demands—and affords rewards—in accord with our cultural heritage. It is unsentimental, unsuperstitious and undogmatic. It pledges no irrational loyalties, is free of the bias of property owners and wears neither school tie nor political badge. It is as distant from the crowd as from the cloister. It is not—the point will come up again—the censor of any faith so long as that faith is not the censor of the normal appetites and reasonable hopes of the mass of men. It is curious, sympathetic, open, tentative and hospitable to change.

It is the friend of freedom and the enemy of its enemies. It is neither cynical nor despairing nor shattered by the unexpected. It is based on the awareness that men, though at the apex of the Linnean chart, are animals and not seraphs; it asserts that they have animal needs which must be met by using the resources of the physical world and that these needs can be better determined and satisfied by rational scientific methods than by other methods (*e. g.*, that a belief in the efficacy of crossing oneself, or in the virtues of war or nationalism or of a particular economic system, is not among the better ways of satisfying these needs). It is frankly pragmatic, seeking, in Macaulay's words, "not to make men perfect but to make imperfect human beings comfortable." Its yardstick for measuring the "good" in the absence of any other adequate standards is the "general course of evolution."

An irreproachable set of attributes and principles.

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But can they be applied effectively to politics as well as physics, to social action as well as research, to practice as well as thought? That question presses upon us for reasons familiar enough: because men's ability to order their affairs sensibly has been outstripped by their ability to make machines; because machines, when misused, not only debase and brutalize life but now in truth threaten human survival; because the scientist of our period is often no more than a technician unwilling (and unable) to extend his methods beyond a narrow area, to explain the implications of his discoveries.

Take the last charge. There is, to be sure, a popular notion that "science is and must be ethically neutral," that the scientist should stick to his last. Convention frowns upon the crystallographer concerned with the social function of science, the astronomer who debates foreign policy, the chemist who writes on the social implications of atomic energy, the mathematician interested in Marx, or the physicist who utters opinions on the economy or the arms budget.

Does the scientific attitude endorse this stand and require the scientist not to "meddle," as Hooke cautioned the Royal Society, with "Divinity, Metaphysicks, Moralls, Politicks, Grammar, or Logick . . ."? The question is rhetorical. It requires no elaborate argument to prove that the scientist with the scientific attitude, the responsible scientist, must be a meddler. The tendency to regard the scientist as defiled if he mixes in social and political activities arises from the widespread failure to understand that science lies at the center of the network of human affairs. Since everything science discovers affects man's behavior, brings about changes, slight or profound, immediate or deferred, in his relation to himself, society and the physical world, it is evident that science has ethical consequences and that the notion of a "neutral," passive science is absurd. There is no inconsistency between the proposition (which is true) that the scientist at work must not permit his preconceptions and preferences to interfere with an unbiased appraisal, and the proposition (which is equally true) that the scientist has the right, and duty, to express opinions about the social meaning of his results.

The responsible scientist is ethically obligated to be unneutral, to direct attention to evils when he sees them, to press for reforms when the results of his research point the need and the proper direction; in sum, to regard his special knowledge not as a disability but as a means to special good. There are those, to be sure, who will argue that the scientist already speaks with an excess of authority and that to broaden this authority further means abandoning our society to the high priests of technocracy, to men who place efficiency above all other human values. One way to meet this false charge is to explain the kind of person the scientist is. An accurate portrayal will add up to something like this: He is neither the Wizard of Oz nor the benign doctor in the baby-food ads; he enjoys normal activities, hobbies, prejudices, political views and a love life; he is as well-fitted as other educated men to play an important part in the evolution of general culture. Waddington says:

> It is time that scientists became willing to state explicitly that the scientific attitude is as full of passion, as much a function of the whole man and not merely of an intellectual part of him, as any other approach to human action. It differs from them only in what it is trying to do. Instead of trying to earn more money, or to improve the condition of the working class, or to create visual beauty, a scientist tries to find how things work. The search for causal connections cannot be made merely by refusing to grind axes. Scientific imagination and insight do not automatically result when the mind is swept clean of preconceived notions and prejudices; their attainment is a positive achievement and not a merely negative one. And because this is true, scientists can and do pass ethical judgment on human behavior; those things which are based on the scientific attitude, or encourage it, are good, those which stultify or deny it are to that extent bad.

A crucial testing ground for the broad validity of the scientific attitude is the field of politics. Even if there is something profound in politics which, according to the maxim mocked at by Swift, "men of plain honest sense cannot arrive to," science cannot avoid grasping the nettle. Science recognizes, however, that in politics it faces problems more difficult than any which arise in the comparatively orderly world of physical matter. What a trivial exercise, you will agree, to construct a rocket for interstellar travel compared with the task of explaining the behavior, say, of Jersey City's electorate.

What is needed for an improved understanding of political (as well as economic) behavior is a systematic, impartial analysis of society's aims and beliefs. The first step is to discover what people believe; the second, to relate their beliefs to their actions; the third—and the most precarious—to supplant irrational and inconsistent beliefs, from which stem unsuitable actions, by a set of rational and consistent beliefs from which fruitful action may develop. A formidable procedure, yet necessary, if reason is to dispossess outworn standards, false values and conflicting shibboleths.

As an example of the "disparate and confusing cultural environment" in which the members of our own society are forced to live, Waddington quotes the so-

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cial antinomies in the famous tabulation by Robert Lynd: Individualism is the law of Nature and the "secret of American greatness, and restrictions on individual freedom are un-American and kill initiative"—*but*: "no man should live for himself alone, for people ought to be loyal and stand together and work for common purposes." The family is "sacred" and "our basic institution"—*but*: business is the lifeblood of the nation and all other institutions must conform to its needs. "Religion and the 'finer things of life' are our ultimate values"—*but*: "A man owes it to himself and to his family to make as much money as he can." Honesty is the best policy—*but*: "Business is business, and a business man would be a fool if he didn't cover his hand." Etc.

It is true that contradictory beliefs are held in every society. But, Waddington points out, "the contradictions have never appeared so obvious, have never been so much in the forefront of consciousness and caused such mental strain as they do today." It is the peculiar business of science, which by some of its own works has undoubtedly aggravated the strain, to sweep out this mass of rubbish, to help create a biological and social environment in which men will not be forced to run about like laboratory animals in a maze constructed to test their mental breaking point.

Apart from the polygonal assault which the coordinated natural and social sciences could make upon the problems of society, the scientific attitude would destroy many of the irrational beliefs underlying social ills. Its wide adoption as a creed, the practice of its articles with the same sincerity as we practise those of strange and less reasonable creeds, would lead men, among other things, to assert their individuality, to put forward their own points of view, to distrust authoritarianism, to scorn conformity. It would train them to support their social and political views "by reasons which other people can verify," to "accept the judgment of critical experiments" as to whether they have made out their case. In daily affairs the scientific attitude, as Waddington emphasizes in one of his sharpest passages, is the "recognition that one belongs to a community, but a community which requires that one should do one's damnedest to pick holes in its beliefs. I know of no other resolution of the contradiction between freedom and order which is so successful in retaining the full values of both."

What is the relation between the scientific attitude and religion? This is more, as Waddington's essay shows, than an academic question. For although it is commonly supposed we live in an irreligious age, and it is true that religion has been thoroughly fragmented and many modern faiths so diluted that even Voltaire could swallow one of their sermons without ill effects, our immediate period has witnessed a remarkable, and in some respects alarming, revival of religion. The authority and prestige of science have been invoked to prove that God is present in the laboratory; the overthrow of strict physical determinism, having, it is said, freed us from the prison of predestination, encourages the most extraordinary theological speculations. There has also been an abundance of mischievous, politically motivated appeals to orthodoxy in religious as well as social matters, appeals invoking fear and superstition and inviting a headlong retreat from reason.

The scientific attitude recognizes that men hunger for certainty, that in a troubled world particularly they need a "secure system of beliefs" to which they can turn. "If men cannot live on bread alone," wrote Whitehead, "still less can they do so on disinfectants." Any attempt, it is highly probable, to make skepticism and empiricism the basis of an entire society's philosophy must fail: in Russia, for example, the Holy Fathers of the Revolution have become necessary substitutes for the Holy Fathers of the Orthodox Church.

Science is in no position easily or quickly to satisfy this hunger. It sees a constantly changing world whose most positive attributes are only expressible in the fractions of probability. It would not venture to contradict the philosopher who asserts that the ultimate nature of experience is beyond analysis. It offers no rosy assurances to the living and does not pretend it can improve the condition of the dead. For an unhappy and bewildered man the qualified, nervously circumspect propositions of science are a poor substitute for the eternal truths of religious faith.

Here I should turn aside to point out that the scientific attitude is under further handicaps. Not the least of these stems from the fact that science is itself a kind of faith and thus has to get itself accepted. The faith in science as a means of understanding and controlling nature is not automatically accompanied by a faith in science as "prototype for all human common action." Because men believe in science, *i.e.*, electric blankets or the multiplication table, it does not follow they believe in the scientific attitude toward society. And it is precisely in this sphere that science clashes with some of the opinions of organized religion, particularly those of the more irrational faiths. Thus it comes about that its own ethic requires the scientific attitude to assume the role of a fighting and competing faith.

Yet this is a role for which, partially because of its rationalism, the scientific attitude is peculiarly unfitted. It has no holy wars at its disposal; on crucial issues its

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methods of inference would be judged by many religions inferior in authority to the procedures of revelation; it cannot, even apart from this challenge, point confidently to the "you must" of logic, since logic, as the mathematical philosophers inform us, is propped on stilts of arbitrary choice, planted in a bog of paradoxes. Nor can the scientific attitude without jeopardizing its integrity accept the fashionable compromise which says: "I have faith in reason for some things—those I think I understand—and faith in religion for other things—those I think I do not understand": an eclecticism as commendably complete as that practised by the celebrated Wilson Mizener, who on his deathbed, it is reported, had a spiritual send-off administered by ministers of at least three different faiths, on the ground that this was no time to take needless risks.

The scientific attitude, we are bound to conclude, has no means of winning adherents other than by the pull of its inherent plausibility and intellectual integrity. Science must make its way by proving not only that it is the source of material progress but that it is able "to provide mankind with a way of life which is . . . self-consistent and harmonious." The scientific attitude acknowledges the value of moral convictions which give direction and encouragement to all human activities; of ideals, found in religion and elsewhere, which supplement the contribution of science to human betterment. It must, on the other hand, expose those aspects of religion which maintain its authority by the use of fear, superstition and intolerance, and denounce alike the alliance between reactionary religion and fascism, and the subordination of scientific freedom to the philosophical and political orthodoxy of Communism.

The charge is often made that science does not impart the warmth, the intimacy and the color of life. For these values one must, Waddington would agree, turn to other activities such as art, literature, poetry, even philosophy. Yet for all its cautiousness and "heavy vernacular," science offers its own "thrill of romance." Almost invariably, fundamental scientific discoveries entail the overthrow of cherished, established beliefs. Every major theory—of curved space, of the uncertainty of causal relations, of the quantification of energy, of the particulate nature of inheritance, of the endless continuity of living substance, of the equivalence of mass and energy—warily as it may have been advanced, is more "outrageous" in its implications than the furthest flights of religious or mystical imagination. Science has adventures and fantastications for every taste.

Though the scientific attitude considers every dogma to be a source of evil, it cannot fail to notice that the certainty offered by orthodox religion is much less of an "intellectual and moral drug" than the certainties of racism, nationalism, religio-fascism and their kin. These are the wellsprings of tyranny, sustenance for seekers of power in the social, political and economic spheres. We are familiar also with the critics, for whatever purpose, of centralization, social planning and of every aspect of the welfare state, who, in their arguments, invoke the certainties most destructive of freedom as allegedly the sole means of preserving it. Hayek, for example, is typical of the school which urges men to accept social and economic institutions as they are, or at least as they were in the halcyon past, and not to keep questioning and nagging to get at the reason of things. These unsettling practices lead, says the Austrian *Gelehrte*, directly to serfdom.

Science is not easily misled by such hokum. Unquestionably, Waddington says, science is "on the side of democracy"; but only a democracy, that is, prepared to make social experiments and to abide by their results. In such social experiments the scientist's function is to suggest direction and method, while the members of the society judge the results and decide whether the experiment should be continued. This, in a sense, represents the ideal union of science and society.

For all its length, my review touches, and then only superficially, on no more than a small fraction of the topics considered by Waddington. I hope, notwithstanding, to have conveyed the taste of a gratifying intellectual experience.

"Consider the fact," says the Arch-vicar of the new society in Huxley's *Ape and Essence*, [that] "nobody wants to suffer, wants to be degraded, wants to be maimed or killed. [Yet] at a certain epoch, the overwhelming majority of human beings accepted beliefs and adopted courses of action that could not possibly result in anything but universal suffering, general degradation and wholesale destruction. The only plausible explanation is that they were inspired or possessed by an alien consciousness, a consciousness that willed their undoing." Consider the fact that this is the sort of diagnosis intellectuals of the Huxley-Waugh school are now peddling; you will understand the need for the scientific attitude, and the importance of Waddington's book.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Justice Rutledge*

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE Wiley B. Rutledge of the Supreme Court has died and the nation should sincerely mourn him. His death may mean that the Fair Deal will be stillborn. Although we have heard much about the rosy hopes that the Fair Deal holds out to the country, it is not yet in being. The President may propose measures to assure a more fortunate and happier America. Congress may support the President's efforts to enact a people's program. But any forward-looking social and political program is in a state of gestation until the Supreme Court announces whether it has been born dead or alive.

Justice Rutledge was a people's judge. Learned in the law, he was no quibbling legalist unable to forget the days of his acceptance of large retainers from selfish interests, and therefore alert to argue with his brethren against an opinion that would better the lot of the average man. No one can deny that, in its finest meaning, the much overworked designation "liberal" belonged to Justice Rutledge. He was in the tradition of those other great libertarian jurists—Harlan, Holmes, Brandeis and Cardozo. During his too brief tenure, on questions affecting human rights and personal liberty, he saw eye to eye with the late Frank Murphy, another Justice who never drew tightly about him his judicial robe lest it be soiled by contact with the people.

These two, with others also consecrated to the ideals of liberty and justice, could be depended upon to resist, although not always successfully, the views of their associates, who were too often disposed to think that substance counted for more than mind; that property rights and the demands of wealth were to be given the benefit of every legal doubt. Not the least praiseworthy attribute of Justice Rutledge was the steadfastness of his concern for the rights and privileges of the people. He was not one to attempt to make a perfect score as between property and people, or to advance one day and retreat the next in order to convince the "right" people that he was "safe." As a believer in the fundamental doctrines of democracy, he took his stand on principle and humanitarianism.

Nor did he take his position either by chance or as an opportunist. He believed in the essential dignity of human life, the encroachment upon which, even as to a single individual, would be an affront to the natural and proper pride of the group. He was so deeply imbued with democracy, his whole being was so permeated by its spirit, that it was reflected from him as candlelight from a mirror.

No lawyer, however much he might differ with the legal conclusions with which Justice Rutledge has so greatly enriched our jurisprudence, would venture to deny that, whether or not one agreed with Rutledge, or might even be impatient with him, he was undoubtedly a great lawyer. Steeped as he was in Anglo-American law, his opportunity to apply that law as between litigants came later than in the lives of many other judges. But there can be no doubt that, as an administrator of justice in our highest court, he was progressively impressive, not only on account of his legal learning but by reason of his humane application of that learning.

Justice Rutledge was the last and one of the most distinguished appointees to that exalted body by the late President Roosevelt. When he wrote either a majority or a minority opinion, he built a solid structure so skillfully that no one could dispute either its solidity or its grace. He was a democrat among democrats, a lawyer among lawyers, a man among men. I wish, for the sake of the future security and well-being of our country, that Roosevelt had appointed Justice Rutledge somewhat earlier and had then steadfastly insisted upon modeling subsequent appointments upon the one whose budding career as a member of the Supreme Court must have given him great satisfaction.

The nomination by President Truman of Sherman Minton of Indiana must mean that he was aware of the importance of filling the Rutledge vacancy with a man of the general type of Justice Rutledge, to which type Justices Black and Douglas also conform. Elected to the US Senate in 1934, Judge Minton served one term, during which he greatly distinguished himself as an able and slashing fighter for the people. After his defeat for reëlection in 1940 by a close vote, President Roosevelt nominated him for the US Circuit Court of Appeals for the 7th circuit, an office that he has capably held for more than eight years. Of course, President Truman has forgotten that, on July 6, 1945, I suggested Judge Minton for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court to fill the Roberts vacancy. However, I do not want to be understood as claiming even the slightest credit for what, to my mind at least, is an admirable appointment. The credit belongs to President Truman alone and it is a pleasure to applaud such a selection as that of Judge Minton.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

SOCIETY SINCE "MIDDLETOWN"

by S. M. Lipset

PROFESSOR W. LLOYD WARNER and his students have been studying social class in America for almost 20 years. The present volume summarizes many of their results, and for the first time gives us a detailed description of their methodology. It appears to be designed primarily as a textbook for sociology courses in stratification, though the title and the cover blurb would indicate that the publishers hope that the book will attract attention among laymen interested in an analysis of class structure in the US.

SOCIAL CLASS IN AMERICA, by W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells (Science Research Associates; $4.25).

One regrets to report that Warner has not fulfilled either of these purposes. The book may be useful as a text for budding society-page reporters in a school of journalism, as it presents elaborate techniques for distinguishing between members of the "upper-upper class" (old wealthy families), the "lower-upper class" (*nouveau riche*) and the "upper-middle class," and some less complicated methods for separating members of the three "lower" classes. It presents very little new information on the nature of social class in American cities and ignores completely the problem of class in the country as a whole.

All the communities studied by Warner and his associates have been smaller than 20,000 in population. These include *Yankee City* (Newburyport, Massachusetts), which had a population of 17,000 at the time it was studied; *Old City* (Natchez, Mississippi), with 10,000 people; and the most recent study, *Jonesville* (Morris, Illinois), which has 8,000 residents. Warner appears to assume that the class structure of the United States is the same as the total of the "social class" systems of these small cities. In his only book which treats a serious conflict in a small city, *The Strike*, Warner was, however, suddenly forced to drop his intra-city "social class" analysis and to explain the role of economic power and the attitudes of national corporations and trade unions. It is somewhat presumptuous, therefore, to present the result of researches on three small cities as *Social Class in America.*

In their studies of these small communities, Warner and his associates found informants, largely members of the "upper" classes, who could agree among themselves in placing people in the community in a hierarchical-status system established by who associates with whom. No one who has lived in a small city will be startled by this fact. One wonders, however, whether the typical small-city American is "able to verbalize about these distinctions" in the manner of Warner's informants:

> For example, an upper-middle man said: "The several *social strata* are segregated into definite *ecological areas*, and in each area you generally find a class distinction. . . . The top *stratum* lives over on Main Street. . . . Now that is about the way the town is divided into *ecological and social strata.* If you put the two together you have the *social structure in outline.*" (The italics are mine. – S. M. L.)

Warner, like many other sociologists, reports that the members of the different social-status groups have distinct ways of life, in many ways resembling separate sub-cultures. They vary in their attitudes on many issues, they belong to clubs which have class-typed activities, their children behave differently in school, etc. These data are interesting and informative, though the author is correct when he says that many novelists have presented the information in a more readable fashion. But is this all that the major set of sociological researches in American class structure can tell us after almost two decades?

The Lynds in their *Middletown* studies in the twenties and early thirties pioneered in the study of class in the American community. These early researches (in a larger community than Warner has yet surveyed) went much farther in attempting to trace the interrelationship between community power, position in the economic structure and social status. The Lynds raised questions of who controls what, what is the source of such control, and how are power, status and occupational position reflected in the behavior and attitudes of the people of *Middletown* (Muncie, Indiana). No one since in American sociology has taken up the work of the Lynds and attempted to find answers to those questions. Yet almost forty years ago, Max Weber suggested on a theoretical level that a society could be analyzed in terms of three hierarchical structures: power, or ability to command obedience; economic class, defined as people with the same economic opportunities; and social status, similar to Warner's concept of "social class."

These three structures are obviously interrelated, but they are not the same, as Warner appears to believe. Skilled printers may have higher social status than some small businessmen, but they will be union men and thus identified with a lower economic class. This example, however, does not indicate that a theory of "objective" class structure based solely on position in the economic structure will suffice by itself. Marxist sociology, which assumes an eventual clear-cut relationship between economic class position and behavior, has not proved adequate. The social status of many wage-workers, notably the white-collar

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workers and technicians, leads many of them to acquire attitudes similar to those of the controlling economic groups. Robert Michels also indicated the complexity of class-status analysis when he suggested that wealthy upper-class members of minority ethnic groups, who are denied access to formal and informal high-social-status groups, tend disproportionately to develop attitudes at variance with the "normal" conservative pattern for people in their economic position.

The analysis of class structure remains a major and almost virgin research area for the new empirical sociology which is emerging in this country. It has to work out the methods for objectively studying the implications of economic class, social status and power. It is not sufficient for theoretical insights (or for political action, either) to know that something called a class structure exists, or that we can roughly divide this structure into upper, middle and lower groups, with some refinements in between. One can hope that the next significant set of studies on class will be done by sociologists who recognize that there are other problems besides who meets whom and what are the criteria for membership in different clubs.

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THE RUSSIAN DIRECTOR

FILM FORM: ESSAYS IN FILM THEORY, by Sergei Eisenstein. Edited and translated by Jay Leyda (Harcourt, Brace; $4.50).

FILM TECHNIQUE AND FILM ACTING, by V. I. Pudovkin. Translated by Ivor Montagu. Introduction by Lewis Jacobs (Lear; $3.75).

FILM FORM is a sequel to *Film Sense*, the first Eisenstein anthology. The new publication—compiled by the author himself shortly before his death and, like its predecessor, edited expertly by Jay Leyda—includes several pieces never translated before; it is of particular interest because it covers the evolution of Eisenstein's thinking from 1928 to 1945. During this period his esthetic conceptions underwent profound changes, reflecting those of the political regime. Eisenstein accepted Stalinism and went far in adjusting his artistic views to the exigencies of a rigidly totalitarian system. This is evidenced by everything he wrote in later years. But the book also reveals that his life as an artist ended in plain tragedy; or, to be more cautious, his life offered the spectacle of a tragedy. For it is doubtful whether he himself would ever have admitted being involved in a conflict between outer pressure and inner calling: his ability to theorize permitted him to indulge in powerful rationalizations. Yet there is evidence that his spontaneity was not completely consumed by an all-pervading environment; that indeed his very nature rejected what his mind desperately embraced.

The drama unfolds in terms of film esthetics. Up to 1930 or so, Eisenstein, strictly in keeping with "Potemkin" and his other early screen epics, insisted that contrived stories and invented plots went against the grain of the new cinematic medium. Since films consist of a succession of shots which may picture everything from every angle, they are predestined to encompass life in its inexhaustibility. Of course, life is Russian life, as it presents itself in the twenties—revolution in process, with the masses as the hero. It is a reality in which the predominant crowd lends itself to the ubiquitous camera.

Eisenstein's infinite sense of detail led him to explore all kinds of material phenomena, and his artistic determination to organize the material prompted him to devise an ingenious method of editing: he juxtaposed seemingly unconnected shots so that their combination yielded meanings previously not implicit in them. Thus what appears on the screen is reality as a "meaningful whole"—that is, reality in the light of the Marxist doctrine, which may have appealed to Eisenstein as a socially sanctioned principle of artistic organization. But much as he is concerned with the composition of a significant whole, he does not forget that the many things which make up that whole have also a life of their own. He is fascinated by boats in the mist, streets and faces; and he delights in the idea of reconstructing on the screen the endless flow of inner monologue. The whole, instead of imposing itself on every detail, grows out of images which still preserve an independence of a sort. There is a certain openness about his early films; "Potemkin" retains a documentary quality that may well account for its survival.

After 1930, Stalinism is consolidated; the time of revolutionary mass movements and indiscriminate collectivism comes to an end. Films are now requested to feature individual heroes and to develop along the lines of definite plots. Such story films not only satisfy desires widespread in an era of stabilization, but mirror, or can easily be made to mirror, the structure of a regime which culminates in a godlike individual and plots the lives of all its subjects. In consequence, Eisenstein is blamed for neglecting the individual in mass evolutions and concentrating on special editing techniques at the expense of tightly composed stories. The latter criticism goes deep; it accuses him of emphasizing the succession of single shots instead of subordinating all of them to the binding authority of a set plot. This is a serious accusation, for such procedures must seem subversive to a regime that suppresses individual initiative for the sake of totalitarian planning.

Eisenstein surrenders. He acknowledges the timeliness of story films and individual heroes. He admits the one-sidedness of his former infatuation with sheer editing, trying to explain it by the then prevailing social conditions. He even makes an attempt to reinterpret "Potemkin" as a five-act drama, with every shot having its well-defined function within a totally prearranged unity. The whole, which formerly seemed to result from various combinations of relatively independent shots, now appears at the very beginning, determining the content and

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scope of each single picture frame. The art of cinematography, he says in 1932, "is in every fragment of a film being an organic part of an organically conceived whole." Totalitarianism wins out; planning supersedes the tendency, inherent in the camera, to explore unforeseeable real-life incidents.

But Eisenstein would not have been the artist he was had he been unaware of the dangers of excessive purposefulness; under its pressure the pictorial narrative can degenerate—and in many cases did degenerate—into a plain and flat illustration of the given story. Hence his insistence on an imagery which really sensualized the story. The theory he concocted in support of this demand is as sophisticated as it is unconvincing. Basically he wanted to eat his cake and have it too: films should be patterned after the model of Stalinist society and yet breathe the cinematic life of "Potemkin." The incompatibility of these aspirations could not be demonstrated more strikingly than by his own films, "Alexander Nevsky" (1938) and "Ivan the Terrible" (1945). Both of them, it is true, include episodes of cinematic perfection and true insight into life in the Middle Ages. But these episodes lose much of their impact because they merely serve to implement the airtight composition of operatic plots. In fact, compositional efforts encroach on every detail, choking off what independent life it might otherwise convey. Eisenstein aimed at creating "total" works of art, yet it is precisely their claim to totality that invalidates their cinematic essence. "Nevsky," as well as "Ivan," lacks the openness of "Potemkin"; both are grand operas rather than genuine films.

Eisenstein identifies himself unconditionally with these films. Where, then, is the tragedy? It leaks out of passages scattered through his later writings. In 1932, discussing the curriculum of the State Cinema Institute, he inserts a statement on the necessity of Marxist indoctrination in a manner that indicates he mentions it mainly for the sake of decorum. In the same essay, when he evokes the memory of his treatment of *An American Tragedy*, with its new emphasis on inner monologue, the whole passage overflows with nostalgia for a cinematic rendering of life. Even though he disavowed this nostalgia a few years later, it flared up at the end of his career, in strict opposition to everything he did and preached. In 1944, he extolled D. W. Griffith's "inimitable bit characters who seem to have run straight from life onto the screen"; he praised Griffith for incorporating into his films life in its incalculable fullness. It is as if Eisenstein thus expressed, however indirectly, his own suffering under conditions which made him shut out that life; as if he glorified, through his portrayal of Griffith, a past in which he too focused on passers-by in the crowd.

But this is not the tragedy; the tragedy is that he was not even aware of its being one. Except for those occasional passages, his mind ignored what his heart demanded. Stalinism had weakened his power of resistance from within.

Pudovkin's classic writings on the motion picture have been republished also. Brilliantly prefaced by Lewis Jacobs, this anthology also includes two new contributions which deal with problems of the sound film. Pudovkin does not have a searching mind like Eisenstein, but he is a great craftsman and a great teacher. His treatises on technique and acting lead straight to the core of the matter, exposing the processes of film making with an expert's lucidity and an artist's fondness for his medium. Part of the material is still valid; the penetrating analysis of the film actor stands out unsurpassed to this day. SIEGFRIED KRACAUER

THE INDIAN SIGN

IMAGE AND IDEA, by Philip Rahv (New Directions; $3).

THIS COLLECTION, subtitled "Fourteen Essays on Literary Themes," ranges from Hawthorne to Kafka, Virginia Woolf and William Carlos Williams, but the emphasis is less on strictly literary than on environmental or biographical criticism—that is, on the historical and sociological circumstances, the ideological climate, that produced a writer. As Rahv puts it, his work belongs to "the intensive study by modern critics of the relation between tradition and original talent." As a result, he tends to consider artists as *national* writers—his consideration of Tolstoy and his long and well-known essay, "Dostoevsky in *The Possessed*," are cases in point—but inevitably the most interesting and helpful to Americans will be his study of "themes" in our national literature.

One of Rahv's original themes is that of the "paleface" and "redskin" in American writing, in which classifications, respectively, "James and Whitman form a kind of fatal antipodes." Fatal because irreconcilable, at least so far, with the result that "the national literature suffers from the ills of a split personality." The comparative "highbrow" who controlled our literature in the nineteenth century has been overwhelmed by his opposite in our own time—by the "redskin," "a self-made writer in the same way that Henry Ford was a self-made millionaire. On the one hand he is a crass materialist, a greedy consumer of experience, and on the other a sentimentalist, a half-baked mystic listening to inward voices and watching for signs and portents." The "greedy consumer of experience" is introduced in another (related) essay in which Rahv says: "No literature . . . takes on the qualities of a truly national body of expression unless it is possessed of a basic theme and unifying principle of its own. . . . And since Whitman and James the American creative mind, seizing at last upon what had long been denied to it, has found the terms and objects of its activity in the urge towards an immersion in experience."

The result of this preoccupation is that the American novelist's work "exhibits a singular pattern consisting, on the one hand, of a disinclination to thought and, on the other, of an intense predilection for the real: and the real appears in it as a vast phenomenology swept by waves of sensation and feeling." It is from this position

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that Rahv focuses and analyzes the thoroughgoing anti-intellectualism of contemporary American writers—"the unique indifference of this literature to certain cultural aims implicit in the aesthetic rendering of experience—to ideas generally, to theories of value, to the wit of the speculative and problematical." These related essays are, it seems to me, a triumph of his method.

Rahv is one of the founders and editors of the *Partisan Review*, where many of these essays first appeared. Many of them, therefore, have a historical interest, suggesting the trends and emphases in recent American criticism. An onslaught against Bernard De Voto, for instance, serves "to keep the record straight" on the American "national reaction in writing" during the Second World War, a reaction in which Van Wyck Brooks will be remembered as a nostalgic protagonist. De Voto is simply the fly preserved in amber; he owes his exhibited state to his book, *The Literary Fallacy*, which Rahv (none too severely) calls "as mindless a tract as any produced by those who have set themselves the task of subverting the critical spirit of the modern period." Another kind of record is Rahv's appreciative analysis of Henry James before the present cult made that a matter of course. Despite, however, the admirable tone of his criticism and the many good things said, I suggest as a corrective to his emphasis on the so-called "major phase" F. R. Leavis' *The Great Tradition*.

The specific literary judgments and helpful criticism in this volume are found almost haphazardly, and frequently in unexpected links and parallels. From a really wide reading, the critic illuminates a writer or a book or a relevant situation by juxtaposition or comparison. Again, a telling judgment may occur in a reference to a writer's background or experience; for example, with deceptive casualness he really puts the finger on Henry Miller when he says that "the final impression we have of his novels is that of a naturally genial and garrulous American who has been through hell." The range of Rahv's taste is extraordinary; characteristic is a balanced and generous estimate of Virginia Woolf. And common sense is indistinguishable from brilliance in an essay called "Notes on the Decline of Naturalism."

As qualifications, one might mention a disconcerting tendency to abstract language and a schematism that isn't always as convincing as it is ingenious.

JOHN FARRELLY

THE FINE ARTS: Symbol and Device

THE GREATEST Western art has sprung, not from a quest for technique, but from a search for symbols. In our time, this search, through excessive interest in the split between structure and content (Cubism), has largely declined into a display of devices (Expressionism and Abstract Art). Most contemporary art is so specialized, so rigidly esthetic, that it anxiously expresses the poverty of its maker's morale rather than any consciousness of its maker's maker. Measurable science has occupied us so much more than measureless philosophy that we are left with little more than the loneliness of acute individuality.

But there was a time when the West knew an identity of belief, a measured observation and a craft. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century in France, Spain and to a lesser degree in Germany and Italy, holy houses were built to demonstrate with love and awe the ordering of man. As Meyric Rogers concludes in his admirable catalogue of the medieval collection of the Chicago Art Institute:

> The Middle Ages was not a Golden Age, neither was it a pit of superstition and intolerance. . . . The seeds of its decay were self-implanted and, at its height, its attitude to much that we hold self-evident is shocking to us. Yet, at its best, the medieval mind reached an equilibrium between its interpretation of experience and its concept of the ultimate which had not been since the fifth century before Christ. It conceived the world as a mirror of the Divine, not as a prison or an end in itself. It produced a great art, perhaps for our future the most significant yet achieved by Western culture.

The medieval artifacts, whether the stone frame of the church itself, or any treasured surviving fragment—painted glass or panel, woven fabric, chased metal—were each incarnations of central symbols. Although their makers (as professional craftsmen) formed them with incidental attention to their beauty, every piece has in common the sober qualities of mildness, anonymity and precision sharpened toward a primary interest in their intellectual or moral usefulness. Slight personal insistence, although much national or at least geographical flavor, attaches to Romanesque carving and Gothic painting. Lion, Eagle, Ox and Dove are released a thousand times in small, miraculous explosions of wood, stone or ivory. Whose hands gave them life we shall never know.

Modern image-makers rush to sign name, year or even day to each effort extracted from their egocentricity. Few any longer attempt to clarify symbols. Those who do have neither prestige nor much educational influence. And the best that most of them can achieve is one more device to palliate the disastrous truth that their vision is framed by their mirror alone.

"Symbol" derives from the Greek *symbolon*, a sign by which one knows or infers. It is a visible sign for something invisible, as a quality or idea: the lion for courage.

"Emblem," *emballein*, is also an idea's visible sign. It means work laid on, or inlaid: a badge, like the sceptre for sovereignty. An emblem is more specific, less profound, than a symbol.

"Device" springs from the Old French *devis*: plan, wish, difference; that which is devised, formed or willed by design. It is identified with *device*, as in a heraldic bearing; in the Elizabethan sense, a thing fancifully devised, a masque or show.

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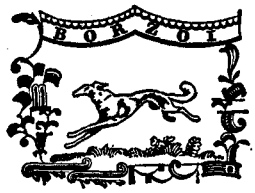
The present anarchy in our art, under the triple idiosyncratic styles of Cubism, Expressionism and Abstract Art, may be defined as individual attempts to substitute personal devices for a continual reinterpretation of general symbols. The impersonal finality of the static symbol, with its discrete layers of reference and correspondence, its allegory in metaphoric extension, which, prevailing taste to the contrary, can be reclothed in every decade, is now often smothered by a galaxy of kinetic devices that vaunt individual, although by no means unique, personalities. Since they are idiosyncratic, they are discontinuous. Without continuity they weaken tradition and are illegible to the public.

The best way to recognize the distinction between universal symbol and capricious device is to visit a medieval collection. Many American cities have great ones, notably the Walters Gallery in Baltimore, and museums in Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago and Boston. But if one were limited to a single collection this side of Europe, New York is marvelously served.

The Cloisters, a dependence of the Metropolitan Museum, is set on Manhattan's highest rock. Removed from the town, it has a matchless view of the palisaded Hudson and, downriver, the absolute arc of the George Washington Bridge. Its ramparts in summer are sweet with boxed bushes and espaliered apple. With perfection of taste we are given a composite unit of original cloister, hall and chapel, largely Benedictine. The modern additions needed to make it complete never violate the most that is old. Inside and outside, there is the feel of life and use. Only dirt, dust, the acrid human scents and the intense skies of the Mediterranean are lacking. Here we can learn much of the approaches to pinnacles of Christian art, ecclesiastical and domestic.

Driving to the Cloisters one passes other monuments on Manhattan's West Side, also in the medieval manner. The most melancholy are the Cathedral of St. John the Divine and the Riverside Church. Both these vast



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scaleless structures stem from honored precedent; it is hard to decide which is more in error. The five-aisled ostentation of St. John's is a monster of bland, immaculate heartlessness that has almost swamped the original idea for a church which at least might have been curiously handsome and decent, like Richardson's Trinity in Boston. Now, as consistently High Gothic as High Anglican, by its very pride of size (when finished it will be bigger than Gloucester, York, Exeter, Wells or Canterbury) it exiles any warmth from its precincts. The Riverside Church is a trying pastiche of venerable detail—Chartres, Rouen, Amiens—inflated, machine made, descaled. It is astonishing to consider that the resources which made possible the Cloisters paid for this, too.

These twin, literalized palimpsests are not unique. They stand as emblems of the dilution of dogma which shot them up, each in a few ill-considered decades, more as social clubs than as temples. Dating from even before the First World War there emerged a series of luxurious buildings cynically devised by Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue. As we enter each we are awed by how much more they cost in cash than in love. We have the de-luxe collegiate of St. Thomas on Fifth Avenue, the tasty Byzantinism of St. Bartholemew's on Park Avenue, and further uptown, the papery blow-up of thin drafting-board rendering in the Church of the Heavenly Rest. Temple Emanu-El is no improvement; in every sense it is a reformed church. Clothed in the skin of correctness, these buildings are convenient for Sunday gatherings. It is almost a relief to seek the shoddy barrenness of any parish chapel, studded with grisly Barclay Street *bondieuseries*. There, no one pretends to good taste. The idols are not artistic; they are foci for prayer.

After the Second World War, taste advanced, but faith was no nearer those styles that served the church. Now we have modern art instead of archeological revival. When the Dominican Father Pierre Cousturier lured him into decorating a chapel for the nuns of Venice, Matisse devised a room as cheerful as the solarium of a Riviera palace hotel. Winchell's column recently reported that Matisse, when asked what might happen to his work if France went Communist, replied that it could as well be employed as a dance hall. This is not true of any Provençal medieval church.

Despite laudable efforts to reform or revive liturgical art (by Eric Gill in England, the Abbey of Maria Laach in Germany, Father Cousturier in France and Maurice Lavanoux in America), it has not been enough to appropriate the prestige of fashionable artists, or symbols once in fashion, no longer lively. This becomes merely an honorific device, corrupting designer and worshiper. The Cloisters lives, or at least one can always imagine life among its stones. But it is naïve for atheist or agnostic painters to fancy (as did the two gifted Brazilian Communists, Portinari and Niemeyer in their chapel for Bello Horizonte) that aggressive good taste, post-Picasso paint plus post-Corbusier planning, can of themselves result in a sanctified place. No wonder the Brazilian chapel remains an unconsecrated curiosity.

So, what would you do if given a church to build, say in Kansas or the Dakotas, as far from a quarry as from the Cloisters? First, ask how much money there is to spend. Next, require from curate and congregation what they believe—the whole dogma, or symbolic philosophy they take for their truth. Then, recognizing that a prairie is not a crag, hunt for an architect, part-poet, part-engineer, to translate this precise belief into materials that might make it manifest: something frankly aspiring, non-functional—or rather whose function is to express praise, not social shelter. We would not then be given the equivalent of any French or Spanish monument, but we would be spared the humiliation of pharisaical echoes. It is instructive to investigate the history

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of the Byzantine Church and its buildings, from Constantinople and Ravenna to the wooden churches of Holy Russia. There did liturgy become wall and dome; without precedent, based on precision of faith, political need and any means at hand: plaster, brick, bits of glass, logs, but also—awe.

The Cloisters are a model of museum arrangement. One can imagine set, in some equally detached yet accessible spot, a similar shrine to the arts of the Orient, demonstrating the radical truths of China and India. Perhaps in the midst of an Adirondack valley the riches of the Oriental divisions of the Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland and New York museums could be arranged in a physical setting by Laurence Sickman, who has made Kansas City a mecca for anyone interested in the Far East.

Also imagine, as a dependence of the Museum of Natural History in New York (or the Field Museum in Chicago or the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia), a museum of Logical Analysis. Here, signs and emblems of nuclear physics, symbolic logic, space and time, of pure mathematics might be visually and aurally presented (and by whom better than René d'Harnoncourt of the Museum of Modern Art, responsible for the great Oceanic, Eskimo and Mexican installations) with as much concern for their final mystery as the cathedral relics of the Cloisters.

A description and measuring of absolutes (*our* description) might free us to invent our own ornament. Or in the same museum could be related the correspondence of our prophetic metric, the comparative anatomy of vertebrates related to coral, tree-root or crystal; the Portuguese man-of-war as a sketch for the human viscera; systems of signs where blood structure and crystal structure would announce their own symbolism. We might derive new decoration from this new dogma. And these measures might seem as lyric and legible as the notion of the Trinity, which, despite the theologians, can still be understood by artists as Source, Created Object and the Energy from that Source which makes the Object manifest.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

MOVIES: Hitchcock Down Under

THE REMARKABLE THING about "Under Capricorn"—and unhappily it is not as remarkable as it would once have been—is that Hitchcock should have wanted to make it. There is nothing in this bit of jaded, implausible flummery to interest a man of his talents, and though you may find in it "Hitchcock touches" if you watch carefully, any hack in any studio could have directed it about as well.

Almost as remarkable is it that Ingrid Bergman, whose greatest virtue is her invincible wholesomeness, should have seemed to anyone the proper actress to play a titled Irish lady who, having eloped with her father's groom and been the cause of her brother's death, is drinking herself into madness in the barbaric luxury of colonial Australia. At moments of extreme intoxication Miss Bergman appears in charming disarray, barefoot and with flowers in her hair; she is Ophelia to her clean little finger tips. Someone—presumably Hitchcock—should have told her that people who have been sozzled for months on end are apt to lose a little of their native daintiness.

Joseph Cotten plays the groom-become millionaire, Michael Wilding is the "understanding" friend who effects a sensational Alcoholics Anonymous cure, and Margaret Leighton takes on that fine old melodramatic character, the tightlaced housekeeper mad for love of her master. She was feeding her poor mistress the stuff all along and it's only by God's mercy she didn't have murder on her nasty soul.

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which is worn smooth as a stair tread, is rigged out in fancy costume, photographed in color, studded with important people who have nothing to do; it is the purest example of window dressing that has come along in some time. "Under Capricorn" is undoubtedly good box office; that is precisely all it is.

The partisans of extravagant and picturesque homicide on the screen point out, quite correctly, that only a spectator already far gone in madness is likely to be stimulated by movie mayhem to try some murders of his own. So if you are cut down one night by someone who has just come from a showing of "White Heat," don't blame Warner Brothers—your assailant was nuts anyway.

In truth, the great majority of us are sane, loosely speaking, and it is probable that James Cagney's vivid portrayal of a paranoiac suffering from a mother fixation and blinding headaches will produce no extracurricular bloodshed. What really concerns me, though, is not the mental health of the people who will see the picture but the state of mind of those who made it.

The aberrations I think I detected are in a couple of details, for in general "White Heat" follows the new style in cinema violence. It employs freely a kind of folklore knowledge of abnormal psychology and it glorifies the implacable vigilance of a federal agency—in this case the Treasury Department. As usual, the moral that crime doesn't pay is somewhat overshadowed by the fact that it is made to look attractively exciting, and as usual the killer is a man of such superb wit and ingenuity that the power of the government, human and electronic, is scarcely a match for him.

What struck me first in the working out of this pattern was the attitude of the head T-man (John Archer) toward his prey. He has the goods on Cagney, he knows that it is only a matter of time before he can trap him, but he is in a fearful sweat because he knows also that he is dealing with an insane man who may at any moment be spotted by an alienist and sent off, quite literally, to an asylum. His motive, in which all his aides seem to agree, is not to protect society but to kill a particularly dangerous kind of big game; he is engaged in the ultimate safari and he lusts for blood.

There is then the matter of Cagney's death, which turns out to be not an execution but an apotheosis. Standing on the highest tower of a blazing oil refinery, laughing at the puny men below who pump bullet after bullet into his unfeeling body, shaking his fist at the sky and screaming defiance, he is carried off in a Wagnerian holocaust that would have made Hitler clap his hands in ecstasy.

These two episodes, showing the wolf-pack psychology of the police and the Walpurgisnacht glorification of a madman, made me wonder if Hollywood's bloodbaths may not be infectious on prolonged contact.

Cagney's performance in "White Heat" is certainly his most brutal, and very probably his most convincing. Margaret Wycherly, as the insane mother of an insane son, gives a chilling impression of perfectly controlled madness. In fact, the picture throughout is directed and acted with the solicitous thoughtfulness of a real labor of love.

It is difficult not to be impressed by the pedigree of "Saints and Sinners." It is presented by Sir Alexander Korda, written by Paul Vincent Carroll, produced and directed by Leslie Arliss and performed by Kieron Moore, Christine Norden and the Abbey Theatre Players. It is full of old men wagging their heads at the bar, of the sad humor and enervating cynicism we have been taught are peculiarly Irish; it contains a Canon whom Christians and heathens alike call "the dear man"; it centers upon a fine broth of a boy who wouldn't harm a fly except he might kill his own brother in a fit of anger; and it concerns a crime that is solved by a cunning old witch, who lives on whisky and cheerful malice and exposes all the petty meannesses and transgressions of the village to clear her beloved black sheep.

"Saint and Sinners," with its slightly

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maudlin crooning over the sins in the best of us, must stem from something authentically Irish, for it is the sort of thing that crops up so often in their plays. What it seems like, though, is not an imitation of life, but an imitation of the Abbey Players in repertory: a performance by professional Irishmen for professional Irishmen.

ROBERT HATCH

THEATRE: Very Light

A NEW YORK *Times* caption the other day proclaimed, "Country Goes Wild Over Vaudeville." I was glad to hear it. I am always happy to hear that any form of entertainment employing actors in three dimensions is popular. There is always a better than even chance, too, that light entertainment will be superior to the other kind. How many of our "legitimate" actors can compare in verve, craftsmanship, vividness and charm with Ray Bolger, Mary Martin and Ethel Merman? I am sometimes on the verge of believing that only our light entertainers are to be taken seriously.

They say radio and the talkies killed vaudeville. No. What killed vaudeville was that the best people in vaudeville walked out on it—to earn an easier and more lavish livelihood elsewhere. If the Marx brothers, Jimmy Durante, Ed Wynn, George Jessel *et al.* could be seen at a reasonable price on a bill with other good acts, do you think vaudeville would be dead?

After reading some devastating comments on "Ken Murray's Blackouts" at the Ziegfeld Theatre, I found the second-night audience eating it up. "Ken Murray's Blackouts" is an old-fashioned vaudeville show at revue prices. The only trouble with it is that it is not good vaudeville. Most of it has the hellish quality of one of those huge cut-rate drugstores where every article from sandwiches and malteds to pills and trusses is presented with such lurid energy that one suspects everything—including the customers—of being poisoned.

It is not that all the numbers are bad. There is an eccentric girl dancer I thought quite funny (I am not speaking of the contortionist who got the notices) and I laughed like a fool at some of the smutty jokes. Once in a while I enjoy cheap beauty and don't mind staring goggle-eyed at barroom Venuses. Ken Murray himself, though he always threatens to become monotonous and oppressively vulgar, is a capable performer with a genuine personality—meaning no disrespect, that of a witty bum. But all in all, what comes over is a feeling of damaged goods, as if we had been invited to examine the remainders of show business. Yet because its very tawdriness corresponds to the dejected tastes of many people to whom more pretentious entertainment might prove an effort, these "Blackouts" will find a grateful audience.

Light entertainment is, of course, as much an "expression of life" as those forms we are supposed to approach more solemnly. Take, for example, an entertainer like Maurice Chevalier, whose autobiography, *The Man in the Straw Hat*, has just been published (Crowell; $3.50). Chevalier, who has no "voice" and is hardly an actor—even in the sense that Edith Piaf is—is nevertheless a national figure in France and a source of keen pleasure everywhere.

Chevalier's little book, which is primitively simple, written as if he were talking about himself to a sympathetic visitor in his dressing room, offers some clues to the ingredients that give his artless and beguiling stage work a sense of real style and something that might be called *purity*. Chevalier is a Parisian proletarian kid

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turned performer and sport. He had no education, a fact about which he neither boasts nor apologizes. He began his career at eleven, and he speaks warmly of Charles Boyer, who in Chevalier's Hollywood days drew up a list of books for him to read.

Chevalier refuses to go beyond his depth in word, thought or sentiment, so that there is a certain innocence as well as wisdom when he tells us that he sometimes wishes his introduction to love had had more to do with love, or when he recounts the moral satisfaction he derived from the aid he was able to give his fellow French prisoners during the First World War when as a medical orderly he devised a method of painlessly administering injections to those who had contracted syphilis. He frankly admits that whenever there was a question involving a choice between his mistresses and his profession, his profession always won. He is naïvely respectful of high authority (royalty, prime ministers and the like) but extremely uncomfortable with it unless it can accept and make itself easy with his own slightly raffish reality.

Chevalier is a "peasant" of Paris. Wine, camaraderie, the lights of gay places, the laughter of friendly women, the excitement of casual, everyday encounters that are viewed as merry adventures—all these, in their most uncomplicated aspects, are what he sings without sentimentality or cynicism. The charm of the ordinary that becomes pure delight through conversation, good humor, a touch of healthy kidding, a sense that there is dance and eternal play at every big-city street corner, restaurant, social gathering—these are what Chevalier communicates in every one of his numbers, regardless of their word content. That is why his "explanations" tickle Americans even more than the songs themselves.

In one chapter of his book, Chevalier describes a nervous breakdown he suffered, accompanied by a nearly insane fear of losing his memory. If Chevalier were an American telling this story, I am pretty certain he would have said it was "psychosomatic," or would otherwise have indulged himself in pseudo-scientific jargon. Chevalier, being what he is, seems at a loss for an explanation, except that he had been drinking too much or eating the wrong things. But he recovered to become riper than ever. No wonder he is a hero to the French and a relief to the rest of us. HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: Country Editor

ITHACA, NEW YORK

OVER A WEEKEND when the network air crackled with the opening of a new broadcast season, I took refuge at Ithaca. WHCU, which is owned by Cornell University, is only a 1,000-watt station restricted in its transmissions to daytime hours. These power and time limitations put the outlet definitely into the small-station class, but from what I saw here, it is hard to see how a radio operation could make a bigger impact upon its community.

The event that took New York's entire radio-trade press off its metropolitan beat (I was the only reporter here not connected with the trade press) was Cornell's third annual press-radio dinner. The 68 publications represented at the dinner are all weeklies. They serve the small towns and rural communities in 22 counties in New York State and northern Pennsylvania. Because of an interest of which the annual press-radio dinner provides the climax, WHCU is the voice of the aggregate community represented by the journalists closest to these grass roots.

To show what goes on here, I might cite the case of C. Arthur Beebe, publisher-editor of the Candor (N. Y.) *Courier*. With the help of three employees who double as job-printers, Beebe puts out his paper in competition with two county-seat weeklies and three nearby dailies. The paper's circulation potential is 2,600 adults. Of that total, 875 are paid-up *Courier* readers.

Each week, Beebe sends a copy of his paper to WHCU. On Sunday, he —like many of his readers—listens to the Cornell station's "Radio Edition of the Weekly Press." There is satisfaction all around when the program cites a *Courier* report of some town activity, perhaps dramatizes a feature story, or quotes from the *Courier's* latest editorial. When the *Courier* is not mentioned, its editor and readers hear about things being done or ideas being discussed at Owego or Cato, Red Creek or Waverly, or across the nearby Pennsylvania border at Wyalusing, where "the *Rocket* blankets Bradford County."

To encourage the editors and publishers, WHCU not only reports their achievements from week to week, it gives them annual prizes. There are two categories: "editorial leadership" and "community action." Three prizes are awarded in each class, and there are also special citations. In each category, first prize is $500; second, $250; third, $100. The importance of the cash awards may be judged from the fact that a good net annual profit for publishers of many of the weeklies in this area is $2,000.

In the three years since WHCU started its press-radio collaboration, 15 weeklies have inaugurated editorial columns, and a couple of dozen others have started local columns that are semi-editorial in nature. Instead of relying entirely on boiler plate and gossip, the editors have begun to speak out on community affairs, encouraging their readers to do likewise, and have inaugurated various local campaigns.

My new friend Beebe placed third in the "community leadership" category. Here is his citation:

To the Candor *Courier:* For overall leadership in community affairs, both through the columns of its paper and the "outside" activity of its editor; for its initiation of and overall help in organizing a community council, putting over a $300,000 school addition, a program of street improvement, and preserving local beauty spots; and for its

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consistent efforts in behalf of such other projects as traffic control, fire-fighting equipment, the organization of a P.T.A., revival of a Boy Scout troop and promotion of a unique plan to check juvenile delinquency, and for results achieved.

To me, this seems like a lot of work—for a circulation of 875. But that's not Beebe's yardstick, nor—apparently—Candor's. Certainly a radio station owned by a great university should be able to recognize the value of such labors as Beebe's. That thought was behind the plan of WHCU's chief, Michael R. Hanna, when he began his unique program three years ago.

Hanna does not depend upon himself or his staff for the final evaluation of the editors' achievements. Yearly, he selects a board of distinguished judges. This year's group was headed by Erwin D. Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*; and included Robert H. Reed, editor, and John Bird, associate editor, of the *Country Gentleman*; Edward R. Eastman, editor of the *American Agriculturist*; and Howard E. Babcock, another nationally prominent agricultural writer.

What WHCU and Cornell University get out of all this effort, conducted and staged with great efficiency, is obvious. WHCU now runs an FM station also, and is headquarters for the Rural Radio Network which ties in FM outlets throughout New York State and parts of New England. It applied for a television license. The University has just announced formation of Cornell Films, which will undertake, also under Hanna's direction, production of sound motion pictures "for use in education, industry and television." All projects are expected to be self-financing—like WHCU, which, although owned by an educational institution, holds a commercial licence, is affiliated with CBS and makes a profit every year. As in so much of broadcasting, there has to be a gimmick to make the station pay. In this instance, it is community service.

SAUL CARSON

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 4*)

force" of defense to allow Europeans to "eat bread" without looking at or thinking of guns.

Since Russia, as Representative Douglas is willing to admit, is not going to war tomorrow, why rush costly MAP on top of huge defense expenditures? With the Berlin crisis and the threat of imminent war over, is it not a propitious moment to pause in the neck-breaking race, renew efforts through the UN for control and limitation of arms, for understanding? While the UN is powerless to enforce or bring the desired peace, it commands sufficient power to stop wars and enforce talks for peace. Before plunging into the bottomless abyss of preparations for war, let us cling with all we have to the UN as the pause that offers hope and promise for peace.

Philadelphia, Pa. MAX BISER

SIR: In her explanation, "Why I Voted for Arms for Europe," Representative Douglas places much faith in what appears to be mere supposition. What recent news from Western European Atlantic Pact Nations indicates that the peoples of those countries believe that aid received under the terms of the pact can secure them from any aggressor or a great war? A United States of Western Europe could reasonably exhibit such confidence if it were adequately supplied, but no single country in the region has the combination of human and industrial capacity to withstand a potential Russian attack.

A definite commitment by the United States to go to the aid of an Atlantic Pact signer who is attacked probably would be the best insurance those nations could have. A cat will not fear each of ten mice, even if each one's claws are sharpened by a man; but let them appear banded together in a common front under the shadow of a human being and she will think twice before attacking.

Two realities would preclude the need for the Atlantic Pact; a more dynamic application of the Marshall Plan and the establishment of a workable basis for peace between the US and Russia. Americans exist who have the foresight, experience and drive to accomplish these ends. Too many men with old minds have bungled the job to date.

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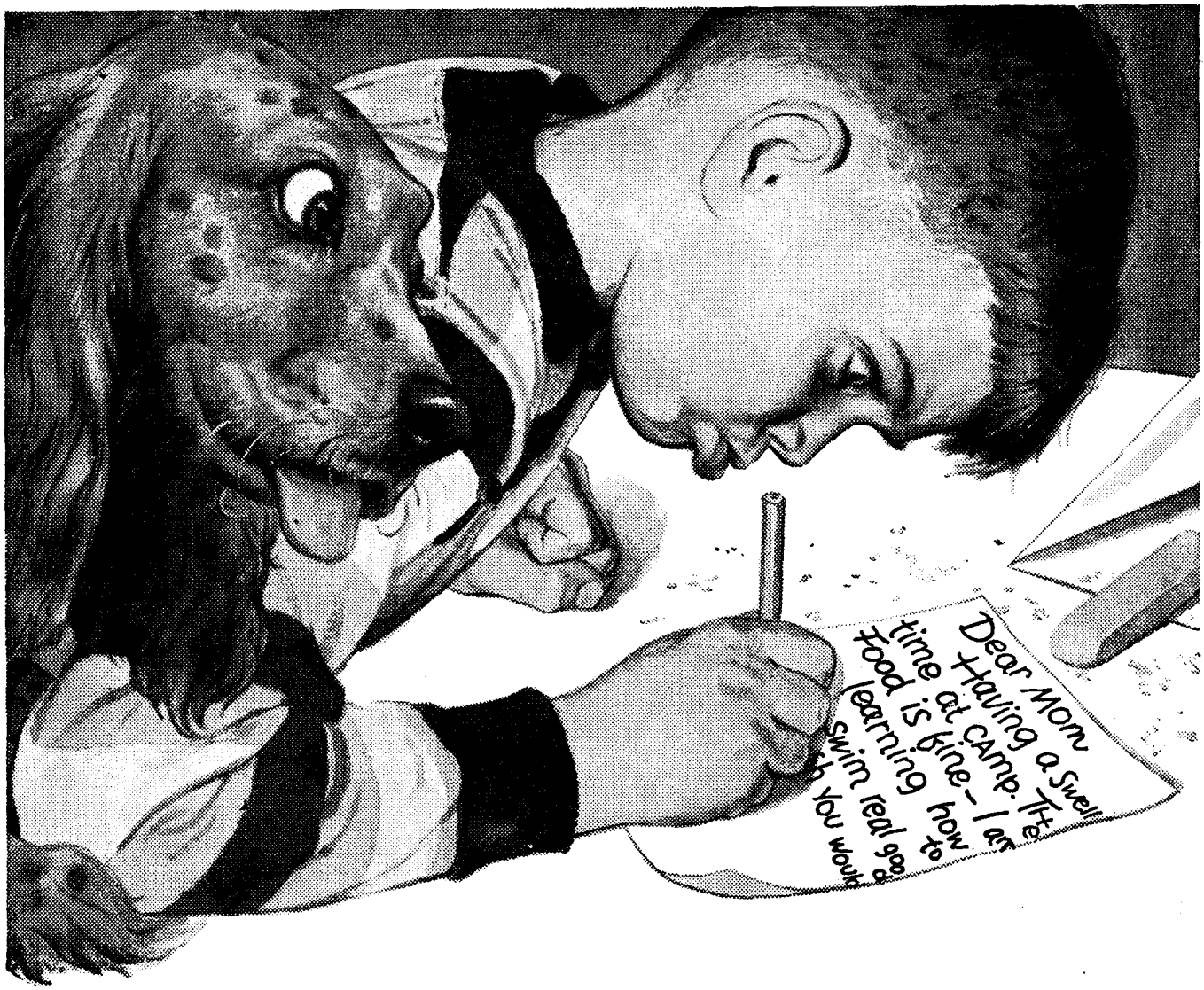

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